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Hibbert      Facts verified upon:  
Slavery Jamaica

C.D.  
A.H.

1824 A.D. [1356] **SLAVE TRADE. COOPER** (Thomas). **A Letter to Robert Hibbert, Jun., Esq.**, in Reply to His Pamphlet, entitled "Facts Verified upon Oath, in Contradiction of the Report of the Rev. Thomas Cooper, concerning the general condition of the Slaves in Jamaica," &c., &c. To which are added, A Letter from Mrs. Cooper to R. Hibbert, Jun., Esq., and an Appendix, Containing An Exposure of the Falsehoods and Calumnies of that gentleman.  
90 pp., 8vo, boards. London, 1824.  
Sabin. No. 16624.

# A LETTER

TO

ROBERT HIBBERT, JUN. ESQ.,

IN

REPLY TO HIS PAMPHLET,

ENTITLED,

"FACTS VERIFIED UPON OATH, IN CONTRADICTION OF THE REPORT OF  
THE REV. THOMAS COOPER, CONCERNING THE GENERAL CONDITION  
OF THE SLAVES IN JAMAICA," &c. &c.;

To which are added,

## A LETTER

FROM

MRS. COOPER TO R. HIBBERT, JUN. ESQ.,

And an Appendix,

CONTAINING

AN EXPOSURE OF THE FALSEHOODS AND CALUMNIES OF  
THAT GENTLEMAN'S AFFIDAVIT-MEN.

---

BY THOMAS COOPER.

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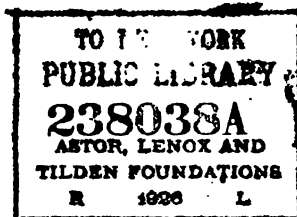
"Out of thine own mouth will I condemn thee."

London:

SOLD BY J. HATCHARD AND SON, PICCADILLY, AND  
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It will be seen that I have spoken of several individuals in very plain language; but this my opponent compelled me to do. He put things in such a train, that it became necessary for me, in self-defence, to explain the reasons which induced me not to acknowledge Mr. *Vaughan* and Mr. *Oates* as persons "seriously concerned about religion." These

gentlemen will doubtless be offended, but they have themselves and their friends to blame. I assure the reader, that I much regret the unpleasant necessity under which I have been laid. I feared, from the confident and feverish spirit manifested in Mr. George Hibbert's letters, what would be the result of his dragging individuals before the public, for the purpose of examining their moral and religious pretensions. I kept back till the last moment, from an idea that my accusers might see the propriety of quietly withdrawing from this part of their ground. But as they determined otherwise, it was not for me to allow them to quit the field with the advantage which they have sought to gain over me.

The remarks which I have contrasted with the affidavits of Mr. Hibbert's witnesses, I could, with a very safe conscience, have supported on oath; but I am quite persuaded, that if I cannot be believed on my word, in a case like the present, I should gain nothing by going before a magistrate. At any rate, I have the approbation of my own mind in what I have done, notwithstanding the rough treatment I have met with. Besides, I am not the only sufferer: scarcely an individual has dared to utter a syllable against the justice, or even policy, of colonial bondage, who has not been met with affidavits and a torrent of abuse. This is surely an indication that the West Indians have a bad cause to defend, though they would fain have the public believe that not only truth and justice, but even reason and revelation are all on their side. If this were really the case, or they in their hearts believed it to be so, would they not court, rather than strive to put down, inquiry? Would they, in the room of temperate and candid discussion, substitute gross personalities, affidavits, and threats of rebellion against the government?

T. C.

*Shelton, near Newcastle-under-Lyme,*

*Sept. 16, 1824.*

## A LETTER

to

ROBERT HIBBERT, JUN. ESQ.,

&c.

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TO ROBERT HIBBERT, JUN. ESQ.

SIR,

Your Pamphlet, entitled "*Facts verified upon Oath*," &c. in contradiction to what I have reported and published concerning the present condition of the Negro and other Slaves in Jamaica, especially those on your own estate of Georgia, demands a reply from me.

The public have been already apprized, in my Second Letter to Mr. George Hibbert, that I obtained your full permission before I sent a word of my offensive narrative to press; and the following paragraph from your letter to me, dated East Hide, Feb. 26, 1822, more than ten months after I had quitted your estate, will enable the reader to judge of the feelings under which you gave your sanction:

"I shall," you tell me, "procure the *Monthly Repository* for March, to see what you say of your Jamaica labours; and as your Report will be that of an honest man, desirous of telling the sober truth without embellishment or for vain glory, I much rejoice that you have commenced such an undertaking." Now, after this, I felt myself at full liberty to proceed with my design without reserve; not doubting that as you professed to approve so heartily of my wishes, you would, if you saw any thing objectionable in what I might advance, point it out to me, not, indeed, by the help of persons "*sworn on the holy evangelists of Almighty God*," but

with the hand of friendship. Every circumstance of the case forbade me to entertain the idea that you would wait to see the effect produced on the public mind, and then come out with a desperate attack on my motives and character; and that too supported by the *oaths* of your *overseer, surgeon, and attorney*. Had my report been a studied apology for the slave system; had I expatiated on the transcendent advantages of slavery over liberty, and the happy state of the Negroes on the plantations, compared with that of our English peasantry, I now plainly see that I should have continued to enjoy your approbation and that of your friends. But then, Sir, I should have had the pangs of a guilty conscience; I should have been compelled to regard myself in the light of a contemptible hypocrite, and to feel that I had lost every claim to the high title of "*an honest man*."—In page 5 of your preface, you express yourself "sorry that I should have committed myself into the hands of persons whose views," you state, "I might instrumentally serve without comprehending their extent." But, Sir, you here do me very great injustice; I should scorn the idea of committing myself into the hands of any person or persons whatsoever. I have acted an independent part, and no one but myself is, in any degree, responsible for the course I have pursued. The Committee of the London Anti-Slavery Society did, it is true, take some pains to circulate the few statements which my report contains, and in doing this they had my free permission. But does it therefore follow, as you would insinuate, that I am a mere tool in their hands? I had your full permission to write for the public eye, and yet no one ever imagined that I was a tool in your hands, or in those of your party. The information which the Committee derived from me, they might have procured from other sources, even from writers on your own side; so that if you succeed in invalidating my testimony by aspersing my character, you will

not, in point of fact, injure the Negro cause ; your triumph will be simply over an unimportant individual.

Your admission, that you paid but little attention to my Letters in the *Monthly Repository*, surprised me ; for I submit, on the declaration quoted above from your private letter, that I had every ground to expect that you would read them as they came out ; and as I heard from you of no objection to them, I concluded, strong as they are in many places, that you had none to make. But I perceive from your reference to my evidence in the tract called "*Negro Slavery*," that my great sin consists in my not applying to you before I ventured to contribute matter for a few pages of that obnoxious work. I, however, did not see the necessity of this. You had already professed to "rejoice much" in the prospect of my report being laid before the public ; and I concluded that it could not signify one iota in what publication it appeared. It was sent to you as soon as it was printed, yet you never condescended to favour me with your opinion till more than two years after the date of my first letter in the *Repository*, when your three humble servants come forward with their oaths.

You have, doubtless, received from Jamaica accounts of my character and proceedings during my residence there ; and when we consider the length to which things have been carried, it seems desirable to have nothing kept back. I should like, therefore, to see in print every letter in your possession, which in any way respects me. I first thought of restricting this request to documents received previously to the publication of "*Negro Slavery*," but I now think it better to solicit those also which may since have reached you. Judging from what is already before the public, I may safely conclude that you have been most abundantly supplied with materials of no very flattering description. Yet I feel certain that you never received a word to my discredit till



after my unvarnished report made its appearance ; and I am perfectly sure, that it was in no one's power, without a violation of truth, to say a syllable of which I need be in the least degree ashamed. Mr. *Oates*, who has in the most solemn manner taken oaths to blast my character, must have often mentioned me in letters to you. If he knew any thing materially wrong in my conduct, it was his duty, as your attorney, to have informed you, and if he has ever spoken well of me, justice requires that you should grant me the benefit of his testimony.

To my representation, " that slaves have nothing to gain, and nothing to lose ; that they have no character at stake ; that a good name is of no avail to them ; that their worth is estimated by the strength of their bodies ; and that the greatest villain may be the most valuable slave," &c. &c., you reply, that " every one who has even a slight acquaintance with the colonies, sees at once that these assertions are *untrue*:" and then you cite the case of a *Negro driver*, on an estate called *Porus*, who was valued at upwards of £ 350 sterling merely on account of his excellent character, and the influence he might thereby have on the rest of the slaves. And do you really think, Sir, to destroy the credit of my statement, that a good name is of no avail to the slave *himself*, by shewing that it may have the effect of enhancing his value to *another* ; that is, of raising his price as a species of goods, a mere marketable commodity ? I have admitted, in the letter from which your quotation is taken, " that a regular line of orderly conduct may save him from the lash," and even afford him some hope of being elevated to the distinguished office of a driver. But what else can it do for him ? You say, make him sell at an advanced price. *That*, I rejoin, is to increase the difficulty in the way of his freedom. A discontented, dishonest, lazy, runaway fellow would, if valued by impartial persons, be, as you reason, rated very

low, perhaps not above £50, and consequently he would obtain the precious boon of liberty for at least £300 less than the almost worn-out, *but well-disposed*, driver on *Porus* estate.

When I speak of the moral qualities of a slave not availing him any thing, I always mean as a rational being, a member of society, a fellow-subject; and not as a mere instrument of labour to another, or a thing to be bought and sold. Your reasoning upon the case in question, is precisely that which would be used by a *slave-dealer*. A slave who wished to obtain his freedom, would, in certain supposable circumstances, if he acted on principles of sound policy, guard particularly against pleasing his master. His true plan would be, to enter on a course of vexatious proceeding, and thereby render his discharge from the estate a thing to be desired. Fidelity, industry, obedience, skill, and affection, might not only cause the master to rise in his demands, but even to refuse to sell on any terms. A well-disposed slave is a slave still, and not in possession of a single legal privilege not enjoyed by the greatest villain on the estate. The only earthly reward enjoyed by the good old man on *Porus*, consisted in the honour of driving his fellow-creatures, of both sexes, to their daily task by the cart-whip. But, after all, the value or market-price of a slave must be regulated by his talent and disposition to go through his master's work. A Negro may understand and perform, with sufficient satisfaction, the routine labour of an estate, and yet be, in a moral respect, a very bad man: he may have half a dozen mistresses, be destitute of every principle of religion; addict himself to swearing, lying, cunning, cruelty, and revenge. If he be athletic, acquainted with his work, and willing to perform it, he will fetch a high price, and probably obtain promotion to a driver's whip on the estate. *General Hibbert*, for instance, a Negro on Georgia estate, though a man of infamous cha-

character, was a driver. He was tyrannical, revengeful, unfeeling, dishonest, capricious, and deceitful; yet he had the talent of making the gang go through their work: he was strong, vigilant, and resolute.

In another part of your preface (p. 10) you speak of my having "vented a sweeping calumny against the religious feelings of all the *whites* in Jamaica;" which, to say the least, is putting a most unfair construction on my language. My statement is, "That I do not recollect to have seen a single white *man* there who shewed any serious concern about religion, excepting some missionaries." Now you suppress the exception which I appended to this never-to-be-forgiven declaration, and then make the charge extend to all the *whites*, of both sexes, throughout the island. But all that I ever meant, and all that my language will properly admit of, is, that I have no remembrance of ever seeing a *white man* in Jamaica, "excepting some missionaries," who, as far as I could judge, shewed any *serious* concern about religion. But to make sure of confuting me here, you, and your relative Mr. *George Hibbert*, bring to my recollection the acquaintance I had with Mr. *Oates* and Mr. *S. Vaughan*. I am sorry that you have done this, not that you will thereby gain your point, but because you have rendered it necessary for me, in self-defence, to speak of these individuals in a manner that is very painful to my feelings. I hope, however, that the blame will not be thrown on me; for I should never publicly have uttered a syllable to their discredit, had I not been thus compelled. I have refused to admit that Mr. *Oates* and Mr. *Vaughan* are men seriously concerned about religion, and you have in consequence declared that I have uttered "what I know to be a gross and groundless calumny." Now, Sir, I appeal to the public, whether men who live in the every-day practice of FORNICATION, have any just claim to be considered as persons "*seriously* concerned about religion." I

would quote a number of solemn declarations of Scripture to shew that they ought not; but I willingly submit the matter to the candid and impartial. When I knew Mr. *Oates* and Mr. S. *Faughan*, they were both open and avowed FORNICATORS. They kept their mistresses without any disguise or shame.

Another thing which surprises me, is, that you should have given your countenance to the cry of heresy, which has been set up to detract from the credit of my report. Mr. *George Herbert* led the way; Mr. *McKenzie* followed; and you, Sir, have not thought it beneath you to assist in this pious warfare. Had you engaged me on the supposition that my opinions were reputedly orthodox, your present objections would have been fair; but you knew from the beginning that I was an avowed Unitarian, and, at the time you engaged me, the minister of an avowedly Unitarian Congregation. As to the opinions advanced in my letter to Mr. *Faughan*, you must be aware that they are generally held by modern English Unitarians. And was it reasonable, Sir, was it possible, that you could expect me to come forth, a solitary exception, and preach to your Negroes the doctrine of everlasting misery? To this doctrine you must allude, when you refer to "*the general belief of Christians as to future punishments.*" I admit that the hypothesis of the final restoration of all mankind to purity and happiness, is not a necessary part of Unitarianism; though I never knew a Unitarian who maintained the opposite system. In reply to your assertion, that my opinions "tend to conceal or to qualify those terrors, so intelligible to the meanest understanding," which you say, "the Bible holds out to obstinate offenders," I have to observe, that, without advocating or even bringing forward the final restoration scheme, or combating that generally held by Christians on this subject, I had recourse to the Scriptures themselves, and addressed my hearers in such language as the following:—  
*"We must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, that*

*every man: they receive the things done in the body, according to what he hath done, whether it be good or bad." 2. Cor. v. 10. "But after thy hardness and impenitent heart treasurest up unto thyself wrath against the day of wrath, and revelation of the righteous judgment of God; who will render to every man according to his deeds: To them who by patient continuance in well-doing seek for glory, honour, and immortality, eternal life: But unto them that are contentious, and do not obey the truth, but obey unrighteousness, indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish, upon every soul of man that doeth evil—but glory, honour, and peace, to every man that worketh good. For there is no respect of persons with God." Rom. ii. 5—11.*

But, Sir, before I quit this part of the subject, I must be somewhat more particular, and beg the reader to mark the very extraordinary circumstance of your sending to Jamaica for the oath of your overseer to "verify the fact" of my being a Unitarian; when you were previously so well acquainted with the circumstance. It has long been a matter of grief, with many, that *oath-taking* should be so common in our day; yet you are confessedly getting men to swear without any necessity, as far as ascertaining the truth is concerned. You, however, saw the advantage which might be taken of the unpopular cast of my creed; and, therefore, the solemn proclamation of its heretical nature became, as you thought, a piece of well-timed and necessary policy. You are, however, Sir, too late in the day. You cannot serve even so just and humane a cause, as that of *Negro Slavery*, in this way; for, to use the words of an eloquent living writer, "The cry of heresy has become in this happy country feeble and almost harmless. Formerly in Britain, and throughout Christendom, the sound was full of terror: This war-whoop was no sooner heard than destruction followed. By means of it, honest bigots slew their thousands, and unprincipled, hypo-

ecclesiastical persecutions, their tens of thousands. Under its influence the fortresses of the Inquisition overshadowed the earth, armadas darkened the ocean, and crusades convulsed and ravaged and depopulated kingdoms. Its breath caused the fires to blaze around the martyrs' stake; and its voice was never heard unaccompanied by the yells of fanatic rage and the shrieks of woe." (See ASPLAND's Sermon on 'The Apostle Paul's Confession of Heresy,' pp. 15, 16.)\*

\* The truth or falsehood of my religious opinions has certainly nothing to do with the Slave question; and had it not been for the attempt of Mr. Hibbert and his friends to raise a prejudice against me on the ground of my creed, I should never have mentioned it in connexion with any thing that I might deem it right to publish respecting the condition of the Negroes in Jamaica. Mr. *George Hibbert* has already informed the public, that Mr. *Wm. Friend*, of Bridge-Street, Blackfriars, was the person appointed to correspond with me, on the subject of my mission; and the following extracts from his letters will shew, that he was acquainted with my creed, and that in avoiding all controversial divinity amongst the Negroes, I acted in strict conformity with his advice.

"In considering this question, you will bear in mind, that in the management of this office, every thing, almost, will be left to your discretion, and whatever instructions may, from peculiar circumstances, be necessary, will be under my inspection. In short, you will go out as a New-Testament missionary, giving no other account of yourself to any one, and keeping out of sight all names of sects, such as Unitarian, Trinitarian, Calvinistic, and the like. You will have to converse with the old, and instruct the young, all at your own times, consistent with the order of the plantation, where you will be treated with every degree of respect.

"*Rock, Oct. 14, 1816.*"

The above paragraph is extracted from the first letter written to me on the subject of my mission to Jamaica.

"With respect to the word Unitarianism, I should wish it never to be mentioned. It is not necessary that the Blacks should enter into our European discussions. They are to be taught Christianity as it is clearly and plainly revealed in the Scriptures; and as neither the word Unitarian nor the word Trinitarian occurs in the Scripture, they may well be omitted. Thi

You assert in page 8, "that" your "estate of Georgia does not, as Mr. Cooper and Mr. Macaulay would fain have it thought, present the *most favourable representation of Negro bondage.*" My wish and endeavour, and I believe those of Mr. Macaulay, have been to represent things in their true light. The statement is, "that your estate has not been singled out for the harshness or inhumanity of its treatment; but that it is such an estate as would be as likely as any other to have been selected, in order to convey the most favourable representation of Negro bondage."\* And were I called on to do this, I know of no estate that I should make

will be no restraint upon your opinions, nor will any be laid upon you, for we have no doubt of your discretion.—I may observe to you, that the Planters in general are dreadfully afraid of Methodism.

"Rock, 2d Nov. 1816."

"I am very glad that there is a law of the Island upon what is called Baptism, and I should not trouble myself with what Mr. Oates or the Negroes might think requisite as to this object. The rector of Lucea will be glad to have his dollars, and your answer is, like that of Paul, I was not sent to baptize but to evangelize. And you will be careful to instruct your people not to lay any stress upon this rite, but upon the due observance of the precepts of the gospel, and the spirit with which Christianity is to be embraced. As you inculcate true notions of God, the fear of Obeah will vanish. You will forgive me for repeating what I have *so often* mentioned, that you have nothing to do but to teach what is expressly maintained in the Scriptures, and, therefore, you are not to indulge any one in disputes about *Trinity, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost*; answering such questions shortly, that no such terms are to be found in Scripture, and, therefore, they do not enter into the concern in which you are engaged.

"Rock, 7th March, 1818."

That Mr. Frend is a Unitarian, is a matter of public notoriety, and I have every reason to believe that Mr. Hibbert is of the same way of thinking; at least Mr. Frend assured me he was.

\* See p. 18 of my "Facts," or, 54 of "Negro Slavery," second edition.

choice of preference. I told you, at East Hide, that slavery on *Georgia* was much the same thing as on the other estates; and this has ever been the tenor of my language, whatever construction you may choose to put upon it. You will remember how indignantly Mr. *George Hibbert* expressed himself, in his anonymous letter in the *Times Newspaper*, on account of my not expatiating, as he thought, sufficiently on your "*efficient care*" of your Negroes; and he insists on the fact of your curtailing your produce from 400 to 300 hogsheads, as "proving" such "*efficient care*" "beyond all question;" and adds, "I cannot, therefore, allow you *all* the credit which you get from the pamphleteer (the Editor of *Negro Slavery*) for your candour, knowing as I do, that you could have reported many other instances of Mr. Hibbert's regard for his Negroes besides that important one which you have considered it right to mention." Thus assailed, it became necessary for me to speak of you in future as a master *particularly* anxious to render your slaves as happy as they can be in a state of complete servitude.—Mr. *Oates* and others have often expressed fears to me, lest your *uncommon* kindness to your gang should excite the jealousy and discontent of the slaves on other properties: in a word, I can most safely affirm, that as far as I have been able to ascertain, your character, as a slave-master, stands pre-eminent in Jamaica. Your Negroes, too, always spoke of you to me as the best of masters; and I may add, as a remark of some importance here, that your supplies for the white people were very liberal, it being your desire that there should be no want of comfort on the estate. Now, Sir, I would ask what *non-resident* Planter can expect to secure the good treatment of his slaves if you could not? If your efforts so completely failed of success, what can we expect from those of the mass of the Planters, who are not disposed to make any extra exertions? The West Indians have always been ready enough, when



their system has been attacked, to allege the generosity of the masters as proving the happiness of the servants; but we now are called on to believe "that all this is, in fact, so much fallacy; that the efforts of the best of masters may be employed in vain; and that an overseer may render them completely *non-efficient*." Thus in your anxiety to shield your system on the one side, you only expose it to a thrust on the other.

In reply to your statement that I knew that measures "had been applied, calculated to prevent a recurrence of any such abuses," (alluding to the abuses mentioned in my report,) I have to observe, that the only measure with which I am acquainted, is the removal of the overseer; and of the *inefficiency* of this, as a cure for the evils of slavery, every day furnished me with ample testimony. And here I cannot help remarking, that you have failed to produce one species of proof of the ameliorated condition of your slaves, which I am persuaded you would have given, had it been in your power; I mean, you would have stated that there has been a natural increase in their number during the time of your present overseer; or, at least, that there is not now that rapid decrease which was taking place during my residence on Georgia. Your total silence on this point, and on some others which I shall have occasion to mention, offers to my mind strong presumptive evidence, that but little, if any amelioration has been effected.

After the example of Mr. *George Hibbert*, you wish to make it appear, that I neglected my duty in not procuring the dismissal of Mr. *Adam Arkinstall*, your late overseer. Have you really, Sir, completely forgotten what passed between us at the meeting we had at Mr. *Frend's*, a few days before I sailed for Jamaica? I, however, distinctly remember, that, among other things, you advised me not to interfere, either directly or indirectly, with the civil affairs of the estate; but by all means to cultivate a friendship with the white people.

And you even added, in order, as I thought, to convince me that it would not only be improper, but perfectly useless for me to interfere with the proceedings of your white servants, that if you should learn any thing through me respecting the management of the estate, of an objectionable nature, you should take no notice of it. This view of the subject met my own feelings, and, I think, every impartial person will see that there would have been the greatest danger and impropriety in my acting the part of a spy over those whose friendship it was clearly my interest and my duty to secure. Besides, whatever instances of severity occurred towards the Negroes, the attorney had every opportunity of being acquainted with them; he learned them from the Negroes themselves—and many, very many, instances, many more than I have yet narrated, were told him in the hearing of Mrs. Cooper and myself.

According to your present representation, dreadful, indeed, must have been the condition of the slaves on *Georgia*, and that too, in spite not only of your own constant and best endeavours, but also those of your successive attorneys, till the auspicious era of Mr. *M'Kenzie's* taking the command of your gang. But are you certain, Sir, that this man is all that you could wish or expect? I presume that till Mr. Arkinstall, your former overseer, was discharged, you thought well of him. Indeed you gave him, to my knowledge, ample proofs of your friendly feelings. He was overseer of the estate at the time you purchased it. And I heard your relation, Mr. Nembhard (an old Planter) declare, that so high was his opinion of the management of Mr. Arkinstall, that he deemed it of very great importance that he should be continued in his situation. Several other Planters of eminence, it appears, thought the same, viz. the late Mr. Green, who was attorney for many estates; also the late Mr. Cunningham, and his son, the present Hon. Jas. Cunningham, who gave Mr. Arkinstall the charge of an estate soon after he

he was dismissed from your property. Even Mr. Oates employed him for nearly three years, although he has now taken his oath, that *when* he assumed the management of the estate, as your attorney, it appeared to be conducted under a much more rigid system of discipline "as to the Negroes" than any property, with only one exception, that had come under his notice. The fact appears to be, that Mr. Arkinstall was a first-rate Planter, a man determined, according to the Jamaica maxim, "to keep the Negroes in order; judging that he might then leave the estate to take care of itself." That he was a strict disciplinarian, is fully admitted; but if he were the execrable tyrant which you now represent him, what must we think of those gentlemen who successively supported him for so many years on Georgia? At any rate, Sir, *you* must have been deceived. For if the woes and vices which I saw amongst your slaves, are to be imputed, as you ~~and your~~ present agents so ardently desire they should be, not to the slave system, but to Mr. *Arkinstall*, your whole race of attorneys, including, Mr. *Oates*, must have studiously kept you in the dark with respect to the real character of the person under whom they had placed your helpless Negroes. If you reply that they discharged him as soon as they became acquainted with his disposition, I ask, does it require fourteen or fifteen years, and the skill of three or four different attorneys, to find out the true character of an overseer, and the manner in which he manages the slaves? If so, you cannot yet know any thing of Mr. *M'Kenzie*. I do not say that Mr. *M'Kenzie* is more tyrannically disposed than overseers in general are, or in fact, must be; but what security have you in his case any more than you had in that of Mr. Arkinstall, that he will not abuse the tremendous authority vested in him? For with all his pretended superior skill, he is very far from having cast aside the whip! I saw him flog many Negroes, and amongst the rest a woman who had been guilty

of the following offence: she had been accustomed to work in the great gang, but when the new overseer came to the estate, she, of her own accord, went and joined the second gang, where the work was supposed to be somewhat lighter; she was informed of her fault, but did not instantly amend, and therefore, Mr. M'Kenzie ordered the driver to give her about twenty-five lashes. I am of opinion, speaking as a Planter, that the circumstances of the case rendered the punishment necessary: it is the system here, as in almost every instance, that I would blame. The overseer must be obeyed, and the slave, whether male or female, who attempts to decide what work he or she will do, is striking at the very roots of plantation discipline. The woman in question was, I should think, between forty and fifty years of age; she received her punishment in the usual indelicate and disgusting style.—It is, as you know, Sir, customary for slaves who have been punished, to complain to the attorney. But I can assure you, Mr. M'Kenzie told me, that if Mr. Oates wished him to manage your gang, he must set his face against such a system, and send the complainants back to the estate without attempting to investigate their cases. This principle, he contended, it was absolutely necessary that Mr. Oates should act upon, at least for a time. I mention this to shew you that your present managers, with all their idle and wicked parade about slaves being better off than the peasantry of this country, are, in their sober moments, obliged to maintain the most odious and despotic principles. Those who bring themselves to maintain a despotism, must be content to employ despotic measures.

You will perceive, Sir, that I have given, in the Appendix, the statements verbatim, as sworn to by Mr. Oates and Mr. M'Kenzie, your two principal witnesses: I have accompanied them by such remarks as appeared to me proper, leaving the reader to determine on which side the truth lies. I am,

however, certain, that I am in the right; I mean, that my report, which has excited so much of your indignation and that of your friends, is a true report; and, therefore, I shall abide by it to the end of my days, notwithstanding the oaths which have been and may be brought forward to put me down. That your party should examine my evidence, with a view to destroy it, is, perhaps, nothing more than what I might have expected, though the course you yourself have pursued will always appear to me in a very extraordinary light. After the most attentive examination of all the circumstances of the case, I am obliged to adhere to the opinion that your objections ought, in the first instance, to have been private, and if you had failed to obtain satisfaction in that way, an appeal to the public might have been expected. Those who have paid attention to the subject of Negro Slavery, must be already aware how easy it is to obtain oaths from the West Indies. Men who live in the habitual and daily disregard of the obligations of morality and religion, cannot be under the influence of the fear of God: hence it must be more easy for them to appeal to heaven in confirmation of a misrepresentation or even a falsehood, than it is for the upright to make a serious declaration of a contested fact; for the anxieties which the latter feel lest, in any thing, they should "err from the truth," are utterly unknown to the former, their consciences being rendered torpid through iniquity. What I have written I submit to the candid and impartial, by whom I hope I shall be believed, though I have not gone before a magistrate to make oath to every statement.

In selecting your witnesses, it is somewhat remarkable that you should have made choice of Mr. *M'Kenzie* in the room of Mr. *Arkininstall*. The former knows, comparatively, little of me, whereas the latter resided with me on your estate for nearly three years, during the whole of which time we were in constant intercourse. I should have thought, that out of

two witnesses, the one who knew me best was the more proper to select. Mr. Arkinstall, besides, was acquainted with nearly all the cases in my report to which you have objected; and he would be at least as likely to speak the truth as Mr. M'Kenzie; he must be likewise much less liable to undue influence. Mr. Oates is your attorney, Mr. M'Kenzie your overseer, and Mr. Skirving your surgeon; and all three most deeply interested in the support of slavery in general, but especially interested to shew that, on your property, it is not necessarily an odious thing.

I have not republished Mr. Skirving's affidavit, because I did not think it necessary. If those of Mr. Oates and Mr. M'Kenzie are answered, his will not, I presume, be insisted on; he has sworn to much that he knew to be false and grossly exaggerated. But if it be thought necessary, I shall hereafter have no objection to examine his statements.

I make no apology for publishing your private letters; the mode of attack adopted by you in confutation of my statements I consider as fully justifying this measure.

Several points on which I have not touched, you will find sufficiently examined in Mrs. Cooper's letter.

I am, Sir, yours, &c.

THOMAS COOPER.

*Shelton, near Newcastle-under-Lyme, Aug. 6, 1824.*

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TO ROBERT HIBBERT, JUN. ESQ.

SIR,

IF I was somewhat surprised at the bitter persecution raised by the West Indians against Mr. Cooper, and the persevering malignity with which they have aimed, and are still aiming, thrust after thrust at his character, much more was

I astonished that his having incidentally mentioned my name in connexion with some of the circumstances which he has narrated, should have provoked them, with so much malice, and so much cowardice, to hurl their poisoned javelins against my reputation ; and if such were my feelings in perusing the venal slander of the colonial papers, what was my amazement at seeing *you* descend to the publication of a series of statements as replete with misrepresentation and falsehood as any that ever issued from the press : though, till the publication of " Negro Slavery," I had read nothing from you but expressions of esteem, and never before that period had the slightest ground to doubt of your most unqualified approbation both of Mr. Cooper and of myself !

I wish, most sincerely do I wish, that I could, in every point, consider you as under the influence of a total delusion ; but when in the postscript to your preface I observe the manner in which you speak of the Jamaica libels on myself and Mr. Cooper ; when I see that, instead of a manly and candid avowal of your knowledge of their utter falsehood, there is merely that unhandsome and reluctant resignation of them to which the oaths of your agents have compelled you ; when I see this, I cannot help suspecting that your connexion with the tottering system of tyranny, has in this instance corrupted your better feelings, and prevented you from rendering to us that complete justice to which you were called by the dictates of generosity, of honour, and, let me add, of sound policy.—Of sound policy, for you are anxious to impress the public with the idea that your *white* people in the West-Indies are respectable men : but what an infamous part must they have acted if these libels be true, and especially Mr. Oates, who was fully acquainted with the transactions of our house, and under whose eye we more immediately lived during the whole period of our residence in Jamaica ! But he, according to these libels, saw us living

in the commission of almost every greater crime, and yet continued to support, encourage, and protect us; and this too, though he was fully informed of your intentions, and knew that Mr. Cooper was sent to teach morality and religion to your people! Surely the least that an upright man could have done, when placed in such circumstances, in justice to you, in justice to your Negroes, and in justice to that religion for which you tell us he is so much concerned, would have been to have reported us to you, and to have obtained our instant dismissal from your estate: and I must be permitted to remark, that had Mr. Oates been perfectly just, holding as he did in his own hands the contradictory proofs of some of these calumnies, and knowing the fallacy of all the rest, he would have declared their falsehood to the world. But the publication of your pamphlet calls upon me to make a narration, that will unveil him to the public eye, and in my opinion account for many of the difficulties with which we had to encounter while resident on your estate.

I proceed to an exposure of the calumnies and falsehoods of Mr. M'Kenzie\* respecting *Sarah Brissett*, who was sent to me immediately after the birth of my first child, and for a long time was a very good girl; at length she became corrupted by the *white* men at Georgia, and became less valuable in her situation. She was always employed by me as a nurse-maid, and it was never any part of her duty to clean the house; indeed, my constant instructions to her were, that she should refrain from every kind of dirty work, and confine her attention to the child, which, however, the other servants sometimes persuaded her to neglect, in order that she might assist them; but as they had no need of her aid, I always protested against her being thus employed. When she was about four months gone, she informed me that she

\* See his affidavit, *infra*.



was pregnant by a *white* man on the estate, and at the same time communicated the disgusting, and, to me, afflicting intelligence, that another girl in the house, a Quadroon, about sixteen years of age, was pregnant by Mr. Oates, and this Quadroon and the other servants confirmed the statement, and added, that Mr. Oates had lived with her in a state of illicit intercourse ever since we had been in Jamaica. This shocking discovery took place at a time when Mr. Cooper was from home. About an hour afterwards, Mr. Oates entered the house, and I felt myself called upon immediately to notice a circumstance, so disgraceful to him, so insulting to myself, and so calculated to counteract the effect of those lessons which Mr. Cooper had been labouring to instil into the minds of your people. And I now call upon you, Sir, I call upon Mr. Oates to publish that letter, which I then addressed to him; *that* will give decisive and infallible evidence on at least one part of your accusation, and convince the world that our language respecting the vices of the community with which we were then living, was as strong, nay, stronger, in Jamaica, than it has ever been in this country. Painful, indeed, is it to me, Sir, to be obliged thus publicly to make such a statement as this, but your strenuous efforts to blast my good name, leave me no alternative: I must exhibit in their true light the men on whom you rely for the accomplishment of your purpose. You bring forward the oath of Mr. Oates, and, to strengthen its effect, you "most solemnly declare," that "no one that knows him will question his having a *serious* concern about religion." To this your asseveration, I oppose the denunciations of the apostle, "Fornicators and adulterers God will judge;" (Heb. xiii. 4;) and, "They that do such things, shall not inherit the kingdom of God;" Gal. v. 19, 21.

From this necessary digression, I return to *Sarah Brissett*. She soon informed me, that she was no longer able to nurse

the infant, which slept much, and was much in my arms; and when Mr. M'Kenzie came next to Tomspring, (the name of the house in which we resided,) I accordingly requested him to provide me with another nurse-maid: he replied, that there was no situation so fit for Sarah Brissett as that she now filled, and requested me to persuade her, that her present employment was more easy than any other that he could find for her. I complied with his wishes; but failing in my object, I wrote a note, which Sarah Brissett took to the overseer, simply stating the circumstance, and requesting another girl to be sent—and another was sent in her stead.—About three months after, Sarah Brissett was prematurely delivered of a dead child, on which occasion Mr. M'Kenzie remarked, that had she remained with me, the child would probably have been saved to the estate. The midwife also expressed the same opinion.—Mr. M'Kenzie swears, that when she left me she was eight months gone. Every syllable that Mr. M'Kenzie swears to concerning my wish to have her punished, her scouring the house, my taking offence, and my complaining of his too great indulgence, is utterly false.—But the next Sunday her father came to me, and expressed great regret at her having left our service, and said, if I would but have asked the overseer to give her a good flogging, or even have consented to his (the father's) doing it himself, Sarah would have remained with me and behaved as she ought. I told him, that if the servants who were with me would not do their work without flogging, they must be dismissed, as such a course I had not been accustomed to, and could not take.

And now, Sir, having sufficiently exposed the slanders sworn to by your Overseer in the case of Sarah Brissett, I shall illustrate the manner in which Mr. Cooper and I spoke of slavery while in Jamaica, both to persons in general, and in particular to your *white* people, who often strove to im-

press our minds with a favourable idea of the condition of the slaves, especially of that of the slaves on *Georgia*. When their extravagant assertions respecting the privileges and condition of the great mass of the slave population were shewn to be groundless, their usual course was to select the drivers, two or three others of the head people on the estate, and the mistresses of the *white* men, and to describe their dress, their habitations, their dances, and the state of indolence in which some of the latter were kept, and then to expatiate on the wonderful advantages enjoyed by the Negroes : but Mr. Oates sometimes added the picture of some distressed Europeans, to whose wretched abodes he had been taken during his last visit to England ; and would then declare, that the Negroes were as well off as the English poor, "*excepting their state of slavery ;*" to which my reply used to be—"Mr. Oates, in excepting *liberty*, you have excepted all that life is worth living for."

A short time before our departure from the island, after I had been considering what report I ought to make to my friends in England, respecting the people I was about to leave, Mr. Oates observed in conversation, that he had had so many complainants, (I believe from the estate of Welcome,) that he had threatened punishment to the next comer. I remarked, that the slaves were certainly much dissatisfied, and added, "I have been thinking, Mr. Oates, that I have never, since my residence in Jamaica, seen a contented Negro : have you ?" His reply was, "No, never !"—Your agents represent me as styling the slaves a happy peasantry, and preferring their condition to that of the poor of England. Sir, I never was such a traitor to freedom, and such a calumniator of my country ; and the term *peasantry* was associated in my mind with too much that is enlightened, good, and happy, to permit me ever to apply it to that unfortunate and degraded race, which I saw whipped on to their labour

in the cane-fields of the West Indies. And I well remember that I more than once objected to their being described as a civilized people, and asked, but asked in vain, where were the arts, the laws, the manners, and the institutions that characterize a civilized population. As to the manners of the *whites*, Mr. Oates cannot have forgotten, that I was accustomed to use the strongest language in expressing my abhorrence of them, and to declare, when speaking of their corruption, that I would not train up my two children in Jamaica, even if *Georgia* could be given to *Thomas*, and *Dundee*\* to *Samuel*, as the reward.

And now, Sir, I must be permitted to express my surprise that you should venture to speak so positively of the characters of your *white* people in the West Indies, when your knowledge of them is so very slight. Of Mr. Skirving you know nothing, but from the report of those who have the deepest interest in making a false impression on your mind. Of Mr. M'Kenzie your knowledge is equally imperfect. After the statements that have been made respecting your former overseer, and the conclusion that they must force upon you, namely, either that for a long course of years you erred in forming your own judgment concerning him, or that you were deceived by the misrepresentations of others, or that you are even now not in the possession of the truth: after this, it might have been supposed that you would have been more cautious in your assertions respecting one who is, at least, equally unknown; indeed, I suspect much more so; for almost all with whom you are connected, have the strongest motives for practising deception on you and on the world, with regard to Mr. M'Kenzie; whereas it does not appear that they had any for deceiving you with respect to Mr. Arkinstall. Neither can I conceive that it is consis-

\* An estate contiguous to Georgia.

tent with a scrupulous honour to represent your knowledge of Mr. Oates as so very intimate and infallible. Your opportunities of personal observation have been extremely scanty, for he left England at quite an early period of life, considerably before he had attained his twentieth year. He is now thirty-two, and during all this time, he has spent but four, or at the most, five months, in England, of which but a small portion was passed in your society.

I cannot forbear observing, that though you appear not to be conscious of it, your mind must be under the same impression as our own with respect to the awful degradation of the Negro slave, and the infinite inferiority of his condition to that of the English peasant. Were it not so, could you have feared to have had the knowledge of reading given to your Negroes? Instead of acquiescing in the conjecture of Mr. Cooper, as to the result of such an enlightening of their understanding, would you not rather have replied, "Your fears are groundless; go on to teach my people; I am persuaded that the more capable they are of comparing and appreciating their lot, the greater will be their satisfaction and their happiness"? Is there a single labourer in England to whom you would fear to impart the art of reading? Yet where can we find an English peasant whose torpid intellects, whose destitution of almost every religious idea, whose corrupt and scanty jargon, and whose *Obeah* superstitions, so importunately call for the assistance of such an art as this? And why is it denied to the Negro, but because the demon of slavery, with his scourge and his manacles, his apparatus of oppression, and his train of legal and illegal wrongs, is still to continue to crush the sable population of our islands of the West? For, should the Negro read the Bible, he would feel himself a new creature, and, starting up as a man, he would exclaim, "*Behold, the hire of the labourers who have reaped down your fields, which is of you*

*kept back by fraud, crieth: the cries of them which have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of sabaoth!"* And, casting aside the foul and tattered garments, in which I have so often seen him go to perform his Sunday's labour, he would demand, as an equal member of the great family of man, to be admitted, on that day, to the temple—there to pay, like the English peasant, an enlightened worship to that Great Being who has granted him the blessing of life, and cheered him with the hope of immortality.

ANN COOPER.

*Shelton, near Newcastle-under-Lyme, Aug. 17, 1824.*

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*Naples, 7th March, 1820.*

DEAR SIR,

Your letter of 7th December last was forwarded to me here, whence I depart in a few days, and expect to be in England in June.

I cannot but wish to hear from you respecting your success at Georgia; at the same time knowing the jealousy which often subsists on Plantations, I did not wish to subject you to the smallest suspicion of being a spy for me, and therefore I desired you to make your communications to me only through Mr. Friend. Your prudence, however, has no doubt by this time rendered this caution unnecessary, and therefore I shall be glad to hear from you as often as you feel yourself disposed to write to me.

I am much obliged by your candid opinion as to the propriety of teaching the Slaves to read. I always considered that measure as of very doubtful policy; but as I did not wish to check your zeal to do good, I thought that I could not do better than leave the consideration of that matter, as well as any other of your plans of improvement, to the sound dis-

cretion of Mr. Oates, whom I know to be hearty in the cause of the religious instruction of the Negroes ; but whose long experience in Jamaica would render him fully sensible of the dangers to be apprehended from many plans which might seem to strangers unexceptionable. As you yourself, therefore, are of opinion that an ability to read would render the Slaves discontented with their situation, I have to request of you to discontinue your labours in that way, and to confine yourself to the sole object of inculcating in the minds of the Negroes that religious instruction which teaches them, under the severest penalties, their duties to their Maker and to mankind. It is this moral feeling which makes the people of England superior to all other nations that I have seen : and I do not see why Slaves may not be brought to partake of the hopes and fears in a life to come, according as they behave themselves in this world. I am sure that an ability to read is not *necessary* to this end ; as very many English who do not know a letter of the alphabet, have as just a sense of right and wrong, as the wisest amongst us. I very much approve of your mode of lecturing in the Boiling-House ; but I think besides these regular lectures, you might occasionally converse with the Slaves in the Negro-Houses, or where and whenever you found them disposed to listen to you, and in such conversations endeavour to impress the morals of Christianity, particularly to do to others as they would be done by, and to love one another.

It is in vain to attempt, and therefore I would not attempt, to put down Fornication ; but you might try what you could say against Adultery. Where much is wrong, it is well only to attack the greater sins ; for by attempting too much, you may fail of the good which you could otherwise do.

You must have frequent opportunities of questioning the Slaves on points of moral duty ; many that would not come to a regular lecture, or even to hear you at all, might still be

brought to a proper feeling by a few appropriate words from you, in the hour of their joy, and still more in the time of sorrow: and do insist on making them understand, that though prayer is good, yet it is what they *do*, that will be remembered in the last day. For they will be much more ready to comply with forms, than to perform the duties.

I beg pardon for saying so much on a subject which is so familiar to you, and on which you have thought so much; but as you ask my opinion, it is as well to give it to you, and I shall be glad to hear from you how far it conforms with your own, and what success attends your labours.

I am glad to hear that you are on friendly terms with Mr. Rose, the minister. It is creditable to you both. I did not suppose that Mrs. Cooper would see many *white* females, but to have seen only one, and that only once, is surprising. Had I had my own way, she would have had my Mrs. Hibbert's company at this present time, and as long as the ship *Ann* continued in Jamaica. Mrs. Cooper's literary turn and her family will give her, I trust, sufficient amusement; and I hope and believe that, as far as depends on me, things are made comfortable to you at Tomspring. Having left England in October, I can give you no information of our mutual friend, Mr. Frend. Perhaps it will not be amiss to shew this letter to Mr. Oates, who will be good enough to pay you the postage of such of your letters as come from and to me.

Mrs. Hibbert joins me in respects to Mrs. Cooper, and I remain,

Dear Sir,

Yours sincerely,

ROBERT HIBBERT, Jun.

*The Rev. Thos. Cooper, Hanover, Jamaica.*



*East Hide, 1st November, 1820.*

DEAR SIR,

I am favoured with your letter of 29th August, for which accept my thanks, and for the zeal which you manifest in your spiritual undertaking. I am not quite sure, however, from the tenor of your letter, whether it is your wish to remain in the Island or to return to this country. As far as I am concerned, I have only on this subject to say, that as long as you find yourself useful, I shall be glad of your continuance on my property, and that I am convinced, that you yourself would not wish to remain there, when you found yourself no longer useful. I leave the matter, therefore, entirely to your discretion.

I quite agree with you in thinking that an ability to read is conducive to the propagation of Christianity: but as I said in a former letter, I cannot believe it a *sine quid non*; for many thousands in this country unable to read, are good Christians in every sense of the word. Indeed, we are expressly told in the Testament, as one of the merits of Christianity, that the poor shall have the gospel preached unto them: consequently the poor could understand the gospel when preached; yet no one will maintain that all the poor could read in the time of the apostles. Now I feel myself under no moral or divine obligation to teach my Negroes to read; and as you admit that much mischief may ensue through reading, from insubordination, I am decidedly averse to it. I am happy to find that my suggestions in my last letter, of giving in a quiet and private way frequent conversations on the moral duties of the gospel, meet your approbation, and that in fact you had adopted, previously, that mode of proceeding. If we could but thoroughly persuade a *few* that it would be for their advantage here and in the world to come, to behave correctly, their example could not fail in time of having effect through the whole estate, and of rendering the whole more

civilized; although the advantageous change might not be immediately apparent.

I shall send your letter to me to our mutual friend, Mr. Friend, whom I have not seen for some time, not having had occasion to go to London since I passed through it in my way from the Continent.

I am glad to hear that you and your family enjoy good health at Tomspring, and that things are made comfortable to you there.

At the suggestion of Mr. Oates, I shall send you by one of the first ships from Madeira, a hogshead of Madeira wine.

Mrs. Hibbert joins me in respectful compliments to your Lady.

I remain with respect and esteem,

Dear Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

ROBERT HIBBERT, Jun.

*Rev. Thomas Cooper, Hanover, Jamaica.*

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## APPENDIX I.

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### AFFIDAVITS.

(1.) George Hibbert Oates, of Hanover, in the island of Jamaica, Esquire, being sworn on the Holy Evangelists, saith, That he hath perused a pamphlet, entitled "Negro Slavery; or a View of some of the more prominent Features of that State of Society, as it exists in the United States of America, and in the Colonies of the West-Indies, especially in Jamaica;" and more particularly such part of it as relates to the evidence of Thomas Cooper, or, as he is therein called, the Reverend Thomas Cooper. That deponent assumed the management of Georgia estate, alluded to in such evidence, in October, one thousand, eight hundred, and seventeen, about two or three months prior to Mr. Cooper's arrival,—

(2.) And he found the whole system of plantation management, and the treatment of the Negroes on the estate, almost entirely different to that which he had been accustomed to in

### REMARKS.

(1.) Mr. Oates was employed on Georgia estate in the manner here described.

(2.) The overseer or manager of the estate at this time was Mr. Adam Arkinstall, a gentleman who had acted in that capacity for at least twelve or thirteen years; and Mr.

## AFFIDAVITS.

that part of the island where he had previously resided, *the estate appearing generally to be conducted under a much more rigid system of discipline, as to the Negroes, than any property which had come under his notice, with only one exception, that of an estate called Great Valley, both of which estates, deponent understood, had a great many years ago belonged to the same proprietor, and were notorious for being conducted under more harsh and rigorous management than any in the island.*

## REMARKS.

Oates continued him in his situation for nearly, if not altogether, three years longer.\* Now, if Mr. Oates thought the system of management cruel and unjust to the slaves, why did he not take prompt and effectual measures to produce a reformation? He could have discharged Mr. Arkinstall, and this he most certainly ought to have done, if it be true that he conducted the estate in the manner stated and sworn to by Mr. Oates. But instead of dismissing him as he ought to have done, he allowed him to tyrannize, for three successive years, in the most open and wanton manner, according to his own account, over Mr. Hibbert's Negroes; and even to render the estate, with one exception, a scene of barbarity unequalled by any thing which Mr. Oates had ever seen in the island.† Now, does it not follow from this, either that Mr. Oates is a person capable of tolerating the most odious and oppressive

\* Before he became overseer, Mr. Arkinstall lived four or five years on Georgia, as a book-keeper.

† Mr. Oates had resided on the south side of the island eight or ten years, and had seen much of the management of slaves. He was several years a book-keeper, and the rest of the time an overseer. I have very often heard him dilate on the superior advantages, all things considered, enjoyed by the Georgia slaves, to any on the neighbouring estates.

## AFFIDAVITS.

## REMARKS.

proceedings on estates for which he is concerned, or that he has shamefully misrepresented Mr. Arkinstall? The late proprietor of Georgia and Great Valley estates was *Richard Brissett*, Esq., a gentleman of singular manners, but, "if his numerous surviving slaves," with whom Mrs. Cooper and I conversed, are to be believed, "he was an uncommonly excellent master." But suppose they deceived us, and that Mr. Oates is right in his representation, that *Georgia* and *Great Valley* were, during Mr. Brissett's proprietorship, justly notorious "*for being conducted under more harsh and rigorous management than any in the island*;" what an awful mass of crime and human misery must the slave system have occasioned on these two unfortunate properties!! Let every traveller who visits Jamaica remember, that *Georgia* and *Great Valley* are to be noted as the accursed spots on which the fell demon of slavery reigned for a series of years, with a harshness and rigour unknown in other places!!!

It is, however, singular that Mr. Brissett should manifest such pre-eminent cruelty towards these two estates; for

## AFFIDAVITS.

(3.) That he was perfectly aware of the intentions of the present proprietor of Georgia estate, in sending Mr. Cooper to reside on it, and he was prepared, both from inclination, and in compliance with Mr. Hibbert's wishes, to have promoted, in every respect in his power, the object of Mr. Cooper's residence there; and the *white* people employed upon the estate were also aware thereof, and received orders in no manner to interfere with Mr. Cooper in the discharge of his duties, on the estate.

(4.) That the pamphlet contains the following statement, viz. "One great obstacle to his success, as a religious instructor, which Mr. Cooper had to encounter at the very outset

## REMARKS.

he was at the same time proprietor of four others, one in Hanover, and three in Trelawney, besides a pen. But we must yield to necessity: Mr. Oates has taken his oath that the capricious Brissett is reported thus to have distinguished *Georgia* and *Great Valley*!\*

(3.) Mr. Oates, without doubt, understood Mr. Hibbert's object in sending me out to his estate, but he has no right to lay claim to *any* degree of *zeal* in favour of my endeavours. If I admit that he did not oppose me, I give him all the praise to which he is entitled. He candidly confessed, both to Mrs. Cooper and myself, that he never expected my undertaking to succeed.

(4.) What the practice with respect to Sunday work in crop-time on Georgia estate may now be, I pretend not to say: my evidence refers to the period of my residence there.

\* See some remarks on the management of Georgia, in my Letter to Mr. Hibbert, pp. 11—15.

## AFFIDAVITS.

of his undertaking, was this, that the slaves had no time to attend upon him." And such alleged fact is attempted to be explained by reference to the evidence of Mr. Cooper, as shewing, "that he could find no time for the religious instruction of the slaves, which was compatible with the order and management of the estate;" but in respect to such explanation, and the fact thereby sought to be established, this deponent saith, That the practice on Georgia estate in crop-time, is to put the sugar mill about, or to commence the manufacturing of sugar, early on Monday morning, and not on Sunday evening; but formerly it was not unusual to commence on the Sunday evening, not from any disposition on the part of the attorney or overseer to disregard the law in such respect, or to obtain more labour from the Negroes, but really and truly from a desire on the part of the Negroes themselves to commence the work of the crop; and it hath always, since he went there, been the practice on the estate for the Negroes to *break off work at dusk on Saturday evening, or very shortly after, and not for them to work till mid-*

## REMARKS.

Then, both Mrs. Cooper and I very often saw the slaves go on a Sunday evening to "take spell;" and we were repeatedly told by the *white* people as well as the slaves, that such was the *constant* rule. In a letter addressed to me, by Mr. George Hibbert, in the Morning Chronicle of Jan. 23, 1824, the following passage occurs: "Mr. Hibbert acknowledges that upon inquiry, he finds that his water-mill was occasionally" (*I say invariably*) "put about upon a Sunday evening, and when he heard of the practice, he immediately ordered it to be discontinued." Now, I submit, that it would have been candid in Mr. Robert Hibbert to have made the same acknowledgment here, it being the manifest object of Mr. Oates to turn to my prejudice a recent regulation, and that too occasioned by the publication of my evidence.

I have very frequently heard Mr. Oates state, that he has known the Negroes of their own accord commence the work of crop on a Sunday evening, but he always assigned as the reason, their intense desire to get through this laborious season with all possible speed.— Now, however, what he swears

## AFFIDAVITS.

*night, except about twelve or fifteen, who are necessary to boil off what sugar remains in the coppers. And it is notorious throughout the island, that the Negroes on sugar properties are better satisfied and pleased in crop-time, than at any other period of the year, and think less of the labour required from them in the cutting of canes and manufacturing of sugar, than of any other labour on an estate, crop-time being, in fact; on all sugar properties, the season of good humour, hilarity, and plenty.*

(5.) That on Georgia estate the Negroes are, and always have been, since he knew the

## REMARKS.

to on this subject, goes on the hypothesis that they were influenced by the mere love of "the work of crop." The delights of crop, every one has heard sounded sufficiently loud in this country; but I can most truly assert, that as far as I could learn during my abode on Georgia, its conclusion was always most eagerly desired. The case, indeed, speaks for itself: the impartial have only to bear in mind that during this season, which lasts four or five months, the slaves have the most dreadful encroachments made on their rest, and that, as a general rule, they have no day allowed them, excepting Sunday, for their own use; whereas, out of crop, they get their regular rest every night, and are allowed about twenty-six week days to be employed in cultivating their own grounds. What I have said on the subject of the Negroes' working late on a Saturday night, I learned on the spot; and it is, in fact, not denied, with respect to a certain portion of them, by Mr. Oates.

(5.) If there be any inaccuracy in this representation, Mr. Oates, Mr. M'Kenzie, Mr.



## AFFIDAVITS.

property, divided into four spells, and not into two, as stated by Mr. Cooper, and each Negro keeps spell only six hours in each alternate night, making the night labour of each Negro in a week amount to eighteen hours, and not to three nights in the week, as stated in the pamphlet.

## REMARKS.

Skirving, and the numerous other *white* people with whom I conversed on the subject of night-work, grossly deceived me; for they all invariably reported the matter exactly as I have done. I frequently argued the case with them, and yet no one ever attempted to correct the error, which the oaths of Mr. Oates and Mr. M'Kenzie are now brought forward to prove. Mr. Oates swears, "That on Georgia estate, the Negroes are and always have been, since he knew the property, divided into *four* spells, and not into *two*, as stated by" me; and "that each Negro keeps spell only six hours in each alternate night," thus reducing the night labour to eighteen hours in the week. I wish I could refer to the records of the plantation, during my stay on Georgia, in order to elucidate this point; for certainly, unless a studied system of falsehood was practised upon me, the slaves employed in the *night* time were not divided into four spells when I was on the estate. I was assured, at least a hundred times, by the Negroes themselves, and the different *white* people on the estate, as well as by many of the neighbours, engaged in the

## AFFIDAVITS.

## REMARKS.

planting business, that the night-work was done by *two gangs or spells*, and I never heard four mentioned till I read Mr. Oates's assertion. I have often seen the lists of the two gangs on Georgia hung up in the boiling-house: I have examined them with a book-keeper, who assured me that they contained all the Negroes who were expected to take spell, which I could not doubt from the number of names the lists contained. One spell was called *John Crow Spell*, and the other *Quality Spell*. In addition to this, I have, times without number, heard both Negroes and book-keepers complain bitterly of being kept up at their spell the *whole* of every other night.\*

\* Mr. Hibbert quotes the following passage from my tract entitled "Facts," &c., p. 34:—"If all things are fairly considered, it will appear that the time which the slaves are employed for him" (their master) "will amount to at least six days in the week, *the year round*; after which, they have to procure, by their own labour, the substantials of life, with the exception of their weekly allowance of herrings and salt fish at Christmas." This he contrasts with what Mr. M'Kenzie swears about the time allowed to the Negroes for their own purposes in the course of the year, expecting the reader to conclude, that I have here been guilty of a great exaggeration. But it will be seen that the slaves do actually work for their masters at the rate of *six whole days in the week the year round*, if we take into account the night-work. For both Mr. Oates and Mr. M'Kenzie make oath, that, during crop, the night labour of each Negro amounts to eighteen hours in a week, and Mr. Hibbert remarks in a note, (page 22 of "Facts on Oath,") that the crop lasts four or five

## AFFIDAVIT.

(6.) That it is not true, as stated in the pamphlet, that the persons employed in carrying canes from the field to the mill have no regular time of rest day or night; but, on the contrary, it is necessary only to employ a few mules to carry canes to the mill during the early part of the night, when the cane piece happens to be at an unusual distance from the works, which occurs but seldom, and the persons so employed have just as much time for rest as any other Negroes on the property.

## REMARKS.

(6.) It is admitted on all hands, that the mill is at work all night, as well as all day, and that it must be regularly supplied with canes. Mr. Roughley, (p. 83,) in his *Jamaica Planter's Guide*, states it to be one of the duties of the cattle men to carry "canes from the field to the mill for its constant supply in crop-time." I have often heard Mr. Oates and others, planters, speak of the situation of these men, and they always described it as being peculiarly hard. The representation which I have given of their case, is nothing more nor less than what I received from Mr. Arkinstall when he was overseer of Georgia; and he added, that he had found the boys asleep on the mules' backs in the cattle pen, through mere fatigue. I well remember also, that, on one occasion, when Mr. Oates served out clothing to the Negroes at Georgia, he

months. Now, allow that the crop begins on the 1st of January, and lasts till the 20th of May, and it will follow, that for twenty weeks the Negroes resign to their master not only six days in the week, but that they also give him in addition eighteen hours of labour taken from their six nights; that is, twenty times eighteen hours, a period equivalent to thirty whole days of twelve hours each; and neither Mr. Hibbert nor his agents pretend that a greater number of week-days than thirty is allowed them for their own purposes during the whole year. So that even on their own questionable statement it is proved, that the slaves are employed for their masters for at least six days in the week *the year round*.

## AFFIDAVITS.

(7.) That during the residence of Mr. Cooper on Georgia estate, the Negroes were allowed every other Thursday afternoon, (except when actually employed in manufacturing sugar,) for the purpose of attending him, and on such days all the Negroes broke off work at shell blow, which is at one o'clock at noon, and they were expected to attend him, but, in fact, very few of them ever did attend. That, exclusive of such Thursday afternoon, the Negroes immediately after crop-time, which usually was about the month of May, were allowed one whole week-day in every alternate week, making up to them in the course of the year, from twenty-eight to thirty whole week-days, exclusive of the Thursday afternoon allowed

## REMARKS.

gave some of the cattle men an extra quantity, stating, as a reason, that they were exposed to all weathers, and filled the most trying situations on the estate. I have seen these men carrying canes on a Sunday afternoon. They must have a good stock of canes in the mill yard before they can with safety venture to take a whole night's regular rest. The very nature of their situation implies this.

(7.) I always admitted that the slaves were allowed an afternoon in a fortnight, out of crop, for the sole purpose of attending on me; but it is not true, that on those occasions they left the field at one o'clock. "It was understood between the overseer and myself, that with a view to put the estate to as little inconvenience as possible, the shell should not blow till nearly two." (See my letter in the Mon. Repos. for May 1822.) Of this arrangement I informed Mr. Oates several times. Neither is it true that *all* the Negroes broke off work on those occasions; for it was no uncommon thing for a whole gang to be detained in the field with a view to complete some piece of work, which the overseer was unwilling to

## AFFIDAVITS.

for their attendance on Mr. Cooper.

## REMARKS.

have neglected. This I also frequently mentioned to Mr. Oates; and at the same time explained to him, that a number of individuals, such as watchmen and mule boys, were always kept from my lectures, on the ground that the necessities of the estate demanded their attention. The assertion that "very few of them ever did attend," is, in plain language, a positive falsehood, in proof of which I shall introduce in a note an extract from my diary.\*

\* "July 13, 1820.

"Prepared an address to deliver to the Negroes in the afternoon. The subject was, On Acquaintance with God, founded on Job xxii. 21: *'Acquaint thyself now with him and be at peace: thereby good shall come unto thee.'* I went down to the estate about half-past one o'clock, and found the drivers at the overseer's door, receiving, or rather waiting for, orders to go to work in the afternoon. I, however, went immediately to the overseer, and told him that I was come, expecting to preach to the people. He replied, that he had forgotten it; but I added, that we had lost several days already this year, and that he informed me last week all arrangements would be made for my preaching to the Negroes as on to-day. He admitted what I said, and gave the drivers orders to attend me in the afternoon, in the room of going to work. About four o'clock I went to the boiling-house" (the place appointed for preaching) "to meet my sable audience, accompanied by Mr. Lyon, Mr. Fraser," late overseer on Springfield estate, "and by Mr. Smith," overseer of Mesopotamia. "In a few minutes after we arrived at the place of worship, the Negroes came flocking in, and I had a congregation of at least two hundred people. Considering the short notice which the Negroes had received, the manner in which they had cleaned and dressed themselves was highly gratifying and satisfactory. I commenced the service by a short prayer, and then read the 139th Psalm, and part of the 5th chapter of Matthew: then delivered the address, and concluded by a short prayer. During the whole time, the Negroes behaved themselves with great decorum, excepting, I

## AFFIDAVITS.

(9.) That, exclusive of the days allowed to the Negroes on Georgia estate, Mr. Cooper had numberless opportunities of imparting religious instruction to the slaves, inasmuch as during his residence there, there was always a considerable number of elderly people not called upon to do any work, or, if any, to do only such light work occasionally as they were fitted

## REMARKS.

I do not believe that the Negroes ever had thirty weekdays for their own use during my residence on Georgia:—twenty-eight is the utmost.

(8.) I was always ready and willing to impart religious instruction to every description of Mr. Hibbert's Negroes, which they all, as well as every *white* person on the estate, knew perfectly well. I attended their funerals, visited many individuals in their huts, conversed with others by the way side, and PAID PARTICULAR ATTENTION TO THEIR CHILDREN.\*

thought I saw two or three of them asleep. The afternoon was very hot. This is the first time I have had an opportunity of preaching to, or of assembling the Negroes, since just before Christmas. I was to have seen them immediately after crop, but the late heavy sickness of the overseer," (Mr. Arkinstall,) "and one or two other circumstances, prevented it."

The above, with the exception of two or three explanatory words, is given verbatim; and the reader will bear in mind, that it was originally written without the slightest view to publication, and at a time when I could have had no view to the present controversy with Mr. Oates and Mr. Hibbert.

\* From the manner in which Mr. Oates introduces the children in the above paragraph, it is manifestly his design to impress the reader with the idea, that I totally neglected their instruction. I cannot allow this most base insinuation to pass without a more direct exposure. Mr. Oates well knows, that, so far from the insinuation being founded in fact, I took very great pains with the education of the children; and that every word that I have contrasted with his account is strictly true. What, then, are we to say to the conduct of Mr. Oates in this instance? Did he come forward with his oath, without examining the particulars to which he was employed to swear, and thereby shew himself capable of acting a mean,

## AFFIDAVITS.

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## REMARKS.

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## AFFIDAVITS.

for, besides invalids, convalescents, AND CHILDREN CAPABLE OF RECEIVING INSTRUCTION; and among such elderly people were several possessing considerable influence, and whose example would have had great

## REMARKS.

"I formed them into a class, had them to my house every day in the week, and, with the assistance of Mrs. Cooper, succeeded in teaching a few of them to read. At one period we had as many as twenty

compliant, and dishonourable part; or, did he really reflect on the insinuation in question, and while his conscience was telling him that it was not only unsupported by the least particle of evidence, but in direct opposition to what he knew to be the truth, yet resolve to give it his deliberate sanction, by swearing to it on the "*Holy Evangelists of Almighty God*"? Mr. Hibbert may repeat, and if he chooses, on oath, that "Mr. Oates is a gentleman totally incapable either of falsehood or misrepresentation," and that he is a person "seriously concerned about religion;" but to me, at least, the contrary is a matter of absolute certainty. He may, however, very safely affirm that Mr. Oates is "seriously concerned" about the support of Negro Slavery!

Here I would conclude, but Mr. Hibbert is so deeply committed in this business, that I find it quite impossible to excuse him: he has published the daring affidavits of his three accommodating witnesses, without a single qualifying note or remark: he therefore wishes them to be understood in their obvious and literal sense. Now he knows that the insinuation about the children is perfectly groundless. He knows that I attended to them in the manner I have stated, and that I should have continued to instruct them in reading, had he not himself requested me to lay aside my labours in that way. See his letter addressed to me from Naples, pp. 26—27.

The following quotation from p. 6 of my "*Facts*," Mr. Hibbert has given in contrast with what Mr. Oates states in paragraph 8, expecting the reader to regard it as containing a gross exaggeration: "Mr. Cooper, during the first five or six months of his residence on Georgia estate, could find no time for the religious instruction of the slaves, which was compatible with its order and management." I refuse to qualify or withdraw the least particle of this statement. I arrived in the country on Christmas-day 1817, and it was not till the 30th of July following, that any time was allowed the Negroes to attend me. The circumstance of their coming to me a few times on a Sunday, was acknowledged from the first.

## AFFIDAVITS.

effect with their families and connexions.

(9.) That the Negroes on Georgia estate cultivate the grounds about their houses, but the soil not being so productive as the regular provision

## REMARKS.

under our care, but this number was soon diminished in consequence of four or five of them falling ill with an infectious disease; and we were never able to get a sufficient supply of recruits to repair the breach. The few scholars we had, made, on the whole, a satisfactory progress. Before they left us, eight of them, including two *brown* girls, could read the Scriptures with considerable ease: they went through three of the Gospels, besides reading various extracts from the Old Testament and the Acts of the Apostles." [See my letter in the Mon. Repos. for August 1822.]

Robert Hibbert, the head driver, and his sister, Mary Riley, midwife, were certainly two of the most respectable slaves on the estate: they were likewise possessed of the greatest influence: with these we had much intercourse, and they were frequently at our house, as well as many other of the slaves who possessed influence on the estate.

(9.) The Negroes plant orange-trees about their houses, and a few of them may cultivate some trifling quantity of provisions; but to say that

## AFFIDAVITS.

grounds, which are only about two miles from their houses, they depend more, from choice, on the latter for their supply of provisions, and they consider it no hardship to have to go so trifling a distance for them; and *a great many* of the Negroes have got *large supplies* of *hogs, goats, and poultry*, upon the estate, which Mr. Cooper was perfectly aware of; and he was also aware that the occasions of the Negroes to attend the Sunday market were actually trifling, if any such did exist, but that, in fact, their real motives in attending such markets are pleasure, and a desire to meet their acquaintance.

## REMARKS.

they go to their distant grounds from choice rather than necessity, is a gross misrepresentation. I have conversed with them on this point, and they always assured me, that it was absolutely necessary for them to have grounds in the mountains. I certainly never measured the exact distance which these grounds may be from the Negro village, though I have many times been over the road; but what I have said about the distance is what I believe to be the truth, and what I have often heard Mr. Oates, the overseer, and the other *white* people on the estate, frequently affirm.

When Mr. Oates took his oath that "*a great many of the Negroes have got large supplies of hogs, goats, and poultry, upon the estate,*" he most certainly swore to what was not true, at least, in my time. I believe there were four or five goats kept at the Negro village, and there certainly was a flock of fifteen or sixteen in the pastures about our house; but they, in part, belonged to slaves on other estates, and three or four of them to my little boy. Now let the reader judge, after taking from this flock what did not belong to Mr. Hibbert's

## AFFIDAVITS.

## REMARKS.

slaves, of whom there were nearly four hundred upon the estate, whether "*a great many*" of them could be possessed "*of large supplies of goats*" !!!

The Negroes on Georgia, were, when I was there, extremely badly off for fowls and hogs. A few that resided near our house, and a few in the village, possessed a little property in this way; but there is no foundation for the oath that "*a great many of them*" had "*large supplies of fowls and hogs.*"

I repeat, that "*for the Negroes, whether as venders of the fruit or vegetables, or poultry, or other articles of food they may have to dispose of, or as purchasers of the little necessities or comforts they may wish to buy in return, Sunday is the only market-day.*" If they happen to meet their acquaintance at the market, they are, no doubt, pleased; but the idea that pleasure is the *principal* object which the slaves have in view in attending the markets, is, though sworn to, too ridiculous to require an answer. When the slave-holders are called upon to abolish the Sunday markets, they say it is impossible; and yet we have it now on the oath

## AFFIDAVITS.

(10.) That in other parts of the Island, where clergymen and missionaries have been more zealous or more successful than Mr. Cooper was, the Negroes have generally become less desirous of attending, and do less attend the Sunday markets than formerly.

## REMARKS.

of one of their own party, that they are in fact mere places of pleasure for the Negroes to meet their acquaintance. What! can they not clear their streets on a Sunday of the idle, prevent the market-place from becoming on that day a mere place of rendezvous to pleasure takers? Kingston market must be a favourite place for pleasure—for thousands and thousands of Negroes assemble there every Sunday.\*

(10.) When in Jamaica, I often inquired of Mr. Oates, whether he knew of any instances of success amongst the clergy or missionaries, who endeavoured to convert the Negroes, and he uniformly declared that he did not; and at the same time poured the utmost contempt on the accounts which the missionaries occasionally publish: One day as we were riding together near Great Valley works, he gave it as his opinion, and that without my asking him, that as long as the Negroes remain in a state of slavery, they ought not to be taught Christianity: he said he would be careful to see that they had all that the law allowed them, but as to religious

\* Edwards says ten thousand. Vol. II. p. 162, note.

## AFFIDAVITS.

## REMARKS.

improvement, it was incompatible with their state as slaves; and he would leave that matter till they should become free. He never expected my own mission to succeed: and gave it as his opinion, that the Negroes would not attend me, with any degree of regularity, even if time were allowed them for the purpose. I believe he was surprised and disappointed that they attended so well as they did. "The experiment," he affirmed, "had been tried on the South side of the Island, by a clergyman of the Church of England, but without producing the desired effect; the Negroes withdrawing their attendance after the few first meetings, although the hours of instruction were taken from those of labour." [See my letter in the Monthly Repository, May 10, 1822.] Mr. Oates is not mentioned in the Monthly Repository, but he is the person to whom I there alluded.

(11.) That the week-days allowed to the Negroes during the year, upon Georgia estate, are amply sufficient for the cultivation of their grounds, without any encroachment on the Sunday; and it is part of the

(11.) "Sunday," says Mr. Stewart, (p. 151, of his 'View of Jamaica,') "*is not a day of rest and relaxation to the plantation slave; HE MUST WORK ON THAT DAY OR STARVE.*" Again, (p. 344,) "*TO THE INDUSTRI-*

## AFFIDAVITS.

duty of the overseer, in a well-regulated plantation, to see that the provision grounds are well attended to, and to render occasionally such assistance to the Negroes as may be necessary for keeping their grounds in order. And deponent doth not believe, that in any one instance, during Mr. Cooper's residence on Georgia estate, were the Negroes prevented from attending for the purpose of religious instruction on any one Sunday, or any one Thursday afternoon, allowed for such purpose, either from fatigue produced by plantation work out of crop-time, or by any necessity for attending either to the cultivation of their grounds, or the Sunday market. That it is stated in the pamphlet, that "during those months of the year which remained after crop-time, the Sunday was applied to the secular objects mentioned in the pamphlet; but chiefly and above all, Sunday being the day especially appropriated for the cultivation of their provision grounds, which were the allotted source of subsistence for themselves and their families, it was felt impossible to require that a portion of it should be given to attendance on religious instruction, at least

## REMARKS.

OUS IT IS A DAY OF LABOUR, and to the idle, of sport and recreation." According to Mr. Oates, the Negroes are not under the least necessity of devoting the smallest part of the Sunday to secular purposes: they go to market out of mere pleasure; and they have ample time in the week to attend their grounds. Now, this he knows to be a gross and cruel misrepresentation, and in direct opposition to what he declared to me numbers of times, when we used to meet. His constant assertion was, that the Sunday was the Negroes' day, and that they wanted it for their own purposes; and that I must not, for no reasonable person could, as a general rule, expect them to devote any part of it to me. He would *then* say that they had their provision grounds, the market, and their household affairs to attend to; and I am certain that he has now altered his tone, merely to serve a present purpose. I was quite as anxious in one part of the year as in another, to have the Negroes on a Sunday; but was always assured that every Sunday in the year was of necessity employed, in some way or other, about their secular concerns. I am well aware that

## AFFIDAVITS.

unless an equivalent portion of time had been given them during the week for cultivating their grounds;" all of which is a wilful misrepresentation, *for the season of the year for planting and attending to the cultivation of the provision grounds, is between the finishing of the crop and the fall of the year*; and at all other times the labour of the Negro at his grounds is confined to the digging of his provisions, or the mere cutting of his vegetables and fruit for the week's subsistence, and perhaps a little weeding with the hoe; and out of crop, the Sunday is not the day necessary for the cultivation of his grounds; but the weekdays allowed him, are given especially, and are amply sufficient, for the purpose; and it is entirely optional with the Negro how he will spend the Sunday.

## REMARKS.

the Negroes are very busy in their grounds immediately after crop; and I am also aware that I repeatedly spoke to Mr. Oates about their attending me on a Sunday, at that particular season, on the ground that they had the Saturday to themselves for some weeks; but he invariably answered, that it was really impossible, because it was so important for them to be in their grounds. "If they lose any of this precious season," he used to say, "they will suffer for it the whole year." It is doubtless the duty of the overseer to see that the slaves keep their grounds in order; and hence it is no uncommon thing for him to go to them on a *Sunday morning*, and see that the people are there, and that all things are in order. A book-keeper, I believe, is invariably sent on the day in question, and I have often known him accompanied by a *driver*. Now Mr. Oates evidently wishes it to be believed, that the overseer does this part of his duty in the week time, and that he would not interfere if the slaves were never to go near their grounds on a Sunday. When I speak of their being at the provision grounds on a Sunday, both in and out of crop, I pre-



## AFFIDAVITS.

## REMARKS.

tend not to say what kind of work they are employed at; whether sowing, planting, hoeing, weeding, cleaning new land or gathering in their crops, &c. &c. It is quite sufficient for my argument, that they are there; or that a due regard to their daily subsistence and comfort, renders it necessary that they should be employed at some kind of work on the Sunday. In order to prove that I am guilty of a wilful misrepresentation in the point adduced by Mr. Oates, he must demonstrate that the Negroes are not *at all* employed in the cultivation of their grounds on a Sunday out of crop, and that I was aware of the fact. On his own shewing, this is the season "*for planting and attending to the cultivation of the provision grounds,*" &c. &c.; and my representation is, that they employ themselves on a Sunday in planting, &c. &c. At any rate, I am certain that in what I have written or reported, there is not a particle of "*wilful misrepresentation;*" and that Mr. Oates is guilty of the grossest departure from truth, when he swears to the contrary. If Mr. Oates's statement on oath was true, what possible reason can he give,

## AFFIDAVITS.

## REMARKS.

why he, the supreme director of all matters on Georgia Estate, should not have allotted the Sunday as the day of public worship and instruction for the slaves, which was clearly the most obvious and natural arrangement; but should have fixed Thursday afternoon in preference? He has not explained this fact, nor can he explain it; and it is sufficient to blast all his evidence. It cannot be alleged that *I* should have objected to this' appropriation of Sunday.\*

\* It is certainly somewhat singular that Mr. R. Hibbert, and Mr. Oates on *oath*, should labour to prove, that the slaves in Jamaica do not employ Sunday in cultivating their grounds, or in carrying heavy loads to market. What says Dr. Williamson on this point? "The Sabbath, at present, is a day of labour, marketing, and exchange."—Vol. I. p. 331. Again, Vol. II. p. 285, he asserts that "the white inhabitants, who treat the Sabbath with a violation of its most sacred duties, make it by the established customs of the Island, a day of marketing, labour, dancing, and excesses of every kind." And although Dr. Williamson conceives that Sunday is the only day on which instruction can be conveniently given to the slaves, yet he tells us, that "on that day the Negroes are engaged in marketing and labour."—*Ibid.* Why are there no affidavits to refute Dr. Williamson's statements? Are they less conclusive than mine?

There seems among many West Indians a disposition to think more favourably of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionaries, than of some others. Now what is *their* testimony on this subject, as it is to be found in Mr. Watson's able Defence of the Methodist Missions, pp. 59 and 60? It is as follows:

"Mr. *Fish*, who spent many years in Jamaica (as a Missionary) says, 'Sunday is chiefly spent by the field Negroes in working their own grounds, which is the source from whence they derive their food, or in bringing what little spare produce they may have to market; for the Sunday is the grand public market-day throughout the West Indies.'"

"Mr. Gilgrass (another Missionary), who also speaks of Jamaica, states, 'The Sabbaths are spent generally as follows: After breakfast, a driver,

## AFFIDAVITS.

## REMARKS.

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## REMARKS.

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## AFFIDAVITS.

(12.) And so far from there ever having been any obstacle to the Negroes attending Mr. Cooper on a Sunday, he never, as far as deponent believes, after the first two or three Sundays of his residence on Georgia estate, held any meeting for the purpose on a Sunday. That deponent always attributed the little impression which Mr. Cooper made on the minds of the Georgia Negroes, to his expecting more effect from public preaching and set discourses, than private instruction by occasional conversation; and in fact, he seemed to be averse to employ any other means of imparting instruction, than by *long sermons*, delivered at such periods *only* as were most suitable to his own convenience; a mode which, of all others, appeared the least adapted to produce the result expected or wished for by Mr. Hibbert.

## REMARKS.

(12.) That I had not a regular congregation amongst the slaves, was not my own fault, which Mr. Oates knows perfectly well, though he is now prepared to swear to the contrary. I did all in my power to induce them to attend me. I always held myself in readiness to instruct them, and most earnestly invited them to come to my house on a Sunday, a week-evening, or at any time when they might feel it in their power to do so. I assured them that I was willing to instruct them individually or in classes, just as they could make it convenient to come. On a Sunday morning, both Mrs. Cooper and I have very frequently stood at our door, while they were proceeding to their grounds, hoping that a few might give us a call. As to consulting my own convenience, I can truly say I never did so in a single instance; but assured both Negroes and white people, that I wished them to consider me as being completely

with an overseer, accompanies the slaves to the Negro-grounds, given to them in lieu of allowance from their masters. Here they spend the blessed Sabbath, toiling hard all day. This is their rest.' On the Sabbath also they 'carry their provisions to sell. In Jamaica some of them travel with heavy loads upon their heads fourteen, fifteen, or twenty miles. To accomplish this journey in time to pick grass on the Sabbath night, they travelled all the preceding Saturday night. If not in time to pick the grass, no allowance was made, but many stripes were laid on them.' "

## REMARKS.

at their call, with respect to all matters of religion. Often have I expressed myself in this way even to Mr. Oates, who now complains of my sermons being long; but he never heard me preach in his life on those set occasions to which he alludes. He might have said, I invited him to attend on a Thursday, that he might judge for himself with respect to my plans; but he never came near us at such religious meetings; and though he virtually swears that my *sermons were long*, and therefore unedifying, he never heard one of them. He may swear that he has heard other people say this, that, and a thousand things besides; but when he makes oath to a particular fact, on the ground that his knowledge of it is derived from his own personal observation, while he can only appeal to hear-say; he shews his want of principle, and lays himself open to the charge of swearing falsely. My sermons were, as nearly as I can recollect, between half and three-quarters of an hour long. Now if Mr. Oates *heard* of this, and thought it a circumstance injurious to the spiritual improvement of the Negroes, why did he not inform me of it at the time? And if he *heard* of

## REMARKS.

any thing else which he thought defective in my plans, why did he not point it out to me? I should have paid every respect to his advice. He, however, never said a word to me upon any such subjects; though he would now have it believed, that he saw so clearly the defectiveness of my plans as to be able, with a safe conscience, to pronounce them on oath to be "of all others the least adapted to produce the result expected or wished for by Mr. Hibbert." It was his duty, as Mr. Hibbert's attorney, to be open and candid with me, as to the manner in which I discharged the duties of my office. He, however, fails to utter a single syllable of complaint *to me* during my residence on the estate, but waits till I have left it *two years*; and then goes before a magistrate and makes oath, that sermons which he never heard, were long and uninstrutive, and ill suited to the occasion, and that my plans were, "of all others, the least adapted to" answer the intended end. If he has sworn to the truth, he can have no regard for the moral and religious welfare of the Negroes; for on the supposition that he had, he would, for their sakes, have

## AFFIDAVITS.

(13.) *That this deponent, as the attorney of the proprietor of Georgia estate, was, during Mr. Cooper's residence there, in the habit of frequently visiting the estate, and occasionally of residing there, and of attending to all representations and complaints made to him by the Negroes, and of redressing any grievances which were brought to his notice. And Mr. Cooper was perfectly well acquainted with his disposition in such respect; but that in regard to all*

## REMARKS.

made some effort to produce an alteration in plans which he now represents, in so solemn a manner, as being of all others the least calculated for their benefit. But it will perhaps be said, that he wrote to Mr. Hibbert on the subject. If so, he must have deceived him; for I never received any opinions from Mr. Hibbert respecting my plans but those of approbation. (See his private letters to me in the present publication.) If, however, he did write to Mr. Hibbert, to the effect of his present affidavit, (and if that affidavit is true, it was his duty to have so written at the time,) let his letters be produced. But I well know no such letters were ever written.

(13.) When the Negroes complained to Mr. Oates of ill treatment, I am disposed to believe that he gave them all the redress that prudence would allow; though it was never in his power to give that redress which would have been sought and obtained in a free country. Many a time have I been present when a poor creature has preferred a complaint which would have led to the most serious investigation, had it occurred in any part of this

## AFFIDAVITS.

*the instances of cruel or harsh treatment, whether general or particular, stated in the pamphlet, upon the evidence of Mr. Cooper, though he was in frequent communication with Mr. Cooper, no one of such instances was ever, to the best of his recollection, brought to his knowledge or notice by Mr. Cooper; and he most positively denies that Mr. Cooper ever mentioned the circumstance of the punishment of a runaway Negro having been inflicted in the manner stated in the pamphlet, and that maggots had bred in the lacerated flesh, or that he ever heard of such circumstance; but complaints of severity having been brought to him against the overseer, he was in consequence thereof discharged from the estate, of which circumstance Mr. Cooper was well aware.*

## REMARKS.

happy Island; but nothing could be done in Jamaica. The complainant had, perhaps, been neglectful of his work, or late in the field in the morning, or impertinent to his driver: a flogging was the consequence, which was nothing more than the slave system called for; and the overseer had only done that which any other individual, placed in his circumstances, would have done. I have uniformly blamed the system rather than overseers and attorneys; and I will defy Mr. Oates, or any other person, to make it any thing else than a system of the most odious tyranny and shocking injustice. The cases of punishment mentioned in *Negro Slavery* were never considered by me in any other light than as the natural offspring of a state of bondage like that which subsists in our sugar colonies. And I am certain they are only such as were well known to Mr. Oates. I have seen many Negroes exhibit their bleeding persons to him, that he might have the evidence of his senses that they had been severely handled. On one occasion, in particular, I well remember, he requested me to withdraw, stating that such sights would, perhaps, be



## REMARKS.

unpleasant to me as a new-comer. I, however, stood my ground, and saw to my infinite pain, the lacerated flesh of the poor beings; and was afterwards surprised to hear Mr. Oates say, that the overseer had *not* transgressed the prudent bounds of plantation discipline. I cannot quote his words, but, I assure the reader, I quote his ideas. Had I witnessed any thing on the estate of peculiar enormity, it might have been expected that I should communicate it to him; but I never knew any such thing, or any that I had an idea of being so. The case of the watchman was mentioned to Mr. Oates by Mrs. Cooper; and I may be allowed to add, that she frequently relieved the poor man when he came in her way.—When Mr. Oates declares that I never mentioned to him the case of the runaway in whose flesh maggots had bred, he utters what is not true; for I am positive as to this fact, and I will endeavour to assist his memory, by telling him, that he not only said he had no doubt of the truth of the report, and that he had known such things himself, but added, that *he himself* had just superintended the punishment of two

## REMARKS.

women at Great Valley, and deemed it prudent to examine their wounds afterwards, lest they should be found to breed maggots. I spoke to several other persons in Jamaica upon the same point, and they all confirmed what I had previously been told. The Negroes will, I have been often assured by overseers and book-keepers, neglect their wounds out of mere spite.—About the case of the two pregnant women, mentioned in p. 49, of “Negro Slavery,” I conversed with Mr. Oates, he being present when they came to our house to complain. Mrs. Cooper also was at home, and heard their complaints.—Mr. Oates may repeat, on oath if he pleases, that the drivers do not possess the power of punishing the slaves in the gangs, in the manner I have reported; but he will not convince me that I did not see what I know I did see. Scarcely three days passed without my seeing the slaves at work before the driver, who always had his whip, which he did not fail to use on “any who might flag at their work, or lag behind in the line.” (See what is said on this subject in contrast with Mr. M’Kenzie’s evidence, *infra*.)

## AFFIDAVITS.

(14.) That on one occasion a complaint was made to him, that a boy named John Harding, who was waiting upon Mr. and Mrs. Cooper, had received a very severe and cruel punishment from the overseer, (who was afterwards discharged as before mentioned,) and on investigating the matter, he was told that it had been inflicted at the particular direction of Mr. Cooper; and when deponent complained of it to Mr. Cooper, he acknowledged that he had given such directions, but attempted to palliate his conduct by saying, that the overseer had been more severe than he intended. The punishment, however, created a very extraordinary sensation amongst the domestics attending on Mr. Cooper, and left on the minds of the Negroes a very unfavourable impression of him.

## REMARKS.

(14.) The history of this punishment has been already before the public, and will be found in a note below. What degree of blame attaches to me the reader must decide.\* I explained the matter to Mr. Oates, before he said a word to me respecting it. The surprise of the other servants was simply to find, that there was a point beyond which I found it impossible to permit them to go. They had, till now, supposed that they might do any thing with impunity. Mr. Oates has often assured me that he finds it impossible to manage his servants without the whip; but he never complained to me respecting this matter, or hinted that he thought me the least to blame in what I had done.

\* "In one of my letters in the *Monthly Repository*,\* I promised to furnish the public with an account of a flogging which John Harding, my own waiting boy, received at my request: and I now proceed to redeem my pledge.

"This boy was put into my service the day I arrived in the island; and at first he gave me every satisfaction. His work was light, and I may safely say that his situation was not more laborious than that of the majority of gentlemen's servants in this country. I taught him to read, and did every thing in my power to make him comfortable, not doubting that mild treatment would secure, for any length of time, his useful services. But I was

\* See Mon. Repos. Vol. XVIII. p. 232.

## AFFIDAVITS.

(15.) That he had frequent conversations with Mr. Cooper, respecting the treatment and condition of the Negroes on the estate, and in the Island generally; and has often heard him declare, that they were a very happy peasantry, and much better off than the labouring classes in Great Britain; and that their houses were far more comfortable than the cottages of the British peasantry generally; but that he feared from his knowledge of the Negro character, it was impossible to manage any gang of Negroes, without a certain degree of discipline.

## REMARKS.

(15.) I most certainly believe that Negro Slaves cannot be managed without discipline; and that, too, of a kind, which must render the slave system detestable in the eyes of every lover of humanity, justice, religion, and virtue: hence I am no friend of slavery, but an advocate for its utter destruction. I may have admitted, that in here and there a case, the slaves are as well off, with respect to a cottage and provisions, as some individuals among our own peasantry; but the language which Mr. Oates represents me to have used on this subject, never escaped my lips; and in swearing to this gross and most shameful exaggeration, he has added another to his awful list of delinquencies.

completely mistaken; for, after the first six months he began to relax in his duty, and to indicate an indifference to please me. I reasoned with him upon the impropriety of his conduct, and he promised to amend. For a short time he was as good as his word, and then became worse than ever. Again and again I called him to account, hoping that I might by remonstrance restore him to his former state of obedience. I spoke to my neighbours upon the subject, and also to the attorney and overseer of the estate, all of whom seemed to agree, that my measures were not sufficiently decisive, and some of them repeatedly recommended me to try the whip. This I was extremely reluctant to do, notwithstanding I saw that the other servants, as well as John, were determined to have their own way, and take every possible advantage of us. At last things got to so bad a state that I saw the necessity of effecting some alteration. The silver spoons after every meal were thrown down in the yard, instead of being put into their places, and the greatest confusion prevailed through the establishment. Things were wasted, and want was sometimes felt

## AFFIDAVITS.

(16.) That the statement made by Mr. Cooper, as it appears in the pamphlet, respecting his telling deponent, "that if he would not allow him to

## REMARKS.

(16.) "Mrs. Cooper kept a small boarding-school, during a part of our residence in Jamaica, and the barrel of sugar which we were obliged to

where there ought to have been plenty. Even the horses came in for an ample share of neglect; and in a word, nothing received its proper attention. To dwell in this state, was impossible; especially as it affected the daily comfort and happiness of my wife. Threatening had been so often tried, that it was found to be productive of mischief rather than good. On one or two occasions, I took a stick and tried whether a few stripes from that would not have a beneficial influence on this lad, and put the other servants somewhat on their guard. I was, however, deceived, for no one paid any serious regard to this, and we began to despair. Many times I saw Mrs. C. insulted, and did myself put up with language from the domestics, which I should not think of submitting to in this country, no, not for an hour. In this state things remained till March 13, 1820, that is, rather more than two years and a quarter after we took up our abode on Mr. Hibbert's estate. On the morning of this day, John was so extremely outrageous, that I felt myself under the necessity of putting him into the overseer's hands, intending that he should confine him for a few hours, and then give him ten or twelve lashes. He, however, made both feet fast in the stocks, and kept him in that situation from about one o'clock in the day till the next morning, when he took the poor boy out and gave him a terrible whipping. I was not present on the occasion, and was never able to ascertain what number of stripes he received. The overseer went far, very far beyond my directions, and John was, in consequence, sadly overpunished. This I always maintained upon the estate, as Mr. Oates, the attorney, well knows. After this, John conducted himself rather better for a short time, but again became refractory. I again remonstrated with him, but to so little effect, that I was obliged to change him. He was sent into the field to work with the gang, in which situation he remained when I left the island.

"Such, then, is the history of the flagellation of the *only* slave who was punished by my orders; and could I have told to what lengths the overseer would have gone, even this lad, notwithstanding all the trouble he gave me for more than two years, would not have received a stripe. The affair, at the time, gave me the greatest uneasiness; and in consequence of the conduct of the overseer, I should not have been able to resort to him again for assistance, in bringing the idle and disobedient to a sense of their duty, had we remained for years longer on the estate."

## AFFIDAVITS.

have some sugar on the estate, he must send to London for it," is entirely a misrepresentation, and appears to be made merely to answer his own purpose, for he was most amply supplied with every thing the estate could furnish, besides whatever quantity of fresh meat he required, without charge. And on one occasion, deponent sold him three hundred pounds of sugar from the estate, on his merely making the request; but he always expressed himself dissatisfied that Mr. Hibbert did not allow him wine for his table.

(17.) That with respect to the case of "an old African watchman," mentioned in the pam-

## REMARKS.

threaten to send to England for, was intended for the use of the scholars. Our first endeavour was, to obtain it from some neighbouring planter, but not being successful, we were told that we might meet with a cheap bargain at Calabash market" (or the market where the Negroes sell the stolen sugar). "Of this advantage, however, we positively refused to avail ourselves, and persisted in our determination to send home for a supply, which at length induced Mr. Oates, Mr. Hibbert's attorney, to order the overseer to let us have what we wanted. Soon after this, a cask was sent from the estate, containing 300 pounds, for which I paid\* £10. 10s. currency."

(17.) The name of the poor man in question was Bam Brissett; a person well known to

\* Mr. Oates insinuates that the sugar in question was intended for our own private consumption, when he knows well that it was purchased for Mrs. Cooper's scholars. The insinuation may be of no consequence in itself, but this religious man is on his oath, and cannot without perjury, represent a fact in one light, when he knows that it should be placed in another. Even Mr. Hibbert must be certain that the insinuation is utterly without foundation.

Mr. Oates thought it right, that as my salary was small, and it was necessary for me to have wine as well as my neighbours, some should be provided for me. I never expressed or felt dissatisfaction upon the subject. Mr. Oates, however, (I believe from pure friendship,) mentioned the circumstance to Mr. Hibbert, and an allusion to it will be observed in one of Mr. Hibbert's private letters, p. 29.

## AFFIDAVITS.

pamphlet, he certainly did receive a severe punishment; but not as far as deponent has any reason to believe, beyond the limits of the law;\* but the offence which was committed by such watchman, was one of a very serious nature, and whereby the provisions for the year of the white people, and many Negroes, invalids, and others depending on the overseer for assistance, were put in jeopardy; that the Negro entirely recovered from the effects of it, and has died since from debility, and no other cause whatsoever, to the best of deponent's judgment and belief.

(18.) That the three men, alluded to in the pamphlet, as having purchased their freedom, were three carpenters on Georgia estate, who applied to deponent to grant their freedom; but not being authorized by Mr. Hibbert to do so, he could only promise to represent the matter to their master, *which he accordingly did* by the earliest opportunity, and in due time

## REMARKS.

Mrs. Cooper and myself: His wife (more correctly mistress) was one of our servants. Bam, as reported in "*Negro Slavery*," received a second flogging, more severe than the first. We both saw him after each punishment, conversed with him, and were much struck with his altered appearance. Mr. Oates may swear to what he pleases; but unless our senses deceived us, he was never well or cheerful after these shocking punishments. I am not certain, but I believe Mr. Oates never saw him after either of his punishments. Bam's offence, together with the ground on which he pleaded innocence, will be found in "*Negro Slavery*," p. 50.

(18.) The object of the paragraph in the opposite column, is to impress the reader with the idea, that the three men there mentioned, obtained their freedom on simply making the request; that no obstacles whatever were even opposed to their wishes; and that Mr. Oates acted with the greatest promptitude and candour in the business. Now when Mr. Oates

\* If this be true; the law allows the flesh of the Negroes to be cut up in a most dreadful manner.

## AFFIDAVITS.

received his instructions to manumize them, or any of his Negroes, who possessed the means to purchase their freedom; and after receiving this authority, no obstacles were ever opposed to the wishes of these people, nor was it necessary for them to make any other application to the proprietor, than through this deponent.

## REMARKS.

swore to this representation, he knows that he might with as safe a conscience have sworn that all the rivers in Jamaica were, in the month of June, frozen to the very bottom. This the impartial reader will see from the following brief statement of facts:—Many years before Mr. Oates had any thing to do with Georgia estate, the three men in question were very desirous of obtaining their freedom. They made many applications to the different attorneys who were previously concerned for the estate, always offering to come forward and pay to their master such sum as they might be valued at, but were put off year after year on some pretence or other. As soon as Mr. Oates came, their applications were renewed with the same sort of success. Mrs. Cooper and I had many conversations with Mr. Oates and the overseer upon the subject; and their plea was, that the men were happy, that the estate could not spare them, and that they would gain nothing by being made free. They had an aunt, a brown woman, possessed of considerable property, residing in the neighbourhood; her name was Rebecca Bigby, and her heart was

## AFFIDAVITS.

## REMARKS.

quite placed on obtaining the freedom of her nephews. From the beginning she offered to come forward with the full amount of the purchase-money. She made applications in person, times without number, to the agents who had been appointed for the estate, but always in vain. I have seen her go repeatedly to Mr. Oates, and she has had many conversations with me and Mrs. Cooper upon the subject, and always lamented, in the deepest manner, her disappointment in the various efforts she had made in behalf of her relations in bonds. Determined, however, to persevere to the last, she endeavoured so to make her will, that there might be property to free the young men, if their master should ever give his consent. She was unexpectedly taken ill of a fever, which carried her off. During her sickness, her nephews paid her all the attention in their power; and we were assured that her greatest grief arose from the reflection, that she, after all her labours and offers of money, was about to die and leave them in a state of slavery. The prospect of the nephews now became more and more gloomy; they saw



## AFFIDAVITS.

## REMARKS.

that no confidence was to be placed in Mr. Hibbert's agents; and they had lost their best friend; they, therefore, determined, as a last effort, to apply to Mr. Hibbert himself: he received their letter, returned it to Mr. Oates (*as Mr. Oates himself informed me*), stating, that he should not answer it, but that he desired to have immediate measures taken to manumize the applicants; and they were accordingly manumized on the full price of their redemption being paid. Thus the object was accomplished after *years of painful anxiety*, and, perhaps, unparalleled exertions; and not as Mr. Oates and Mr. Hibbert would have the public believe, merely on the request being made.\*

\* I hope I shall not be considered tedious, if I beg to detain the reader's attention a little longer on this most important case.

Mr. Hibbert says that "the tendency (meaning on my part) to misrepresentation is, in this instance, particularly worthy of remark." (*"Facts on Oath,"* p. 31.) My account of the manumission of the above individuals, as given in "*Negro Slavery,*" p. 62, or in my own tract, entitled "*Facts illustrative of the Condition of the Negro Slaves,*" p. 26, from which Mr. Hibbert professes to quote, is this: "*Mr. Cooper knew three valuable men who wished to purchase their freedom. They had long applied in vain to the AGENTS of the proprietor resident on the spot. They at length, however, obtained their end, by an application to the proprietor himself, then in England.*"

Now let it be carefully noted, that Mr. Oates, though bound by his own solemn oath to give an impartial account of the case, takes care to conceal a number of highly important circumstances. He says not a word of the long and painful efforts made by the men themselves and their

## AFFIDAVITS.

(19.) That the pamphlet also states, that "after this, a fourth made many efforts to obtain his freedom by purchase; but they proved unavailing, and he sunk in consequence into a state of despondency, and became of comparatively little value;" which allegation relates to a blacksmith of the estate, named Sandy Allen, the only other person who ever made any application about freedom; and it is utterly false and unfounded, for the man in question *had not the means of making any such purchase, and is now healthy, happy, and contented; is most valuable to the estate, has a good house, and good provision grounds, and is altogether a dutiful servant, and thoroughly respectable in his station.*

## REMARKS.

(19.) During a considerable period after the three men just mentioned obtained their freedom, I heard many complaints against Sandy Allen, from the overseer and other persons on the estate, which induced me to inquire of Mr. Oates the reason that could occasion this individual, who had generally conducted himself so well, so strangely to alter his conduct; and I received for answer, that he had got ideas of freedom into his head, since the other men were let loose, and that, because he could not be indulged, he became careless of his work and seemed not to care about any thing. I then begged to know whether he had the means of purchasing himself; and Mr. Oates said he believed so, for that he said he could procure them. I heard the same state-

generous aunt, to obtain their freedom, previously to his taking charge of the estate: he keeps out of view the repeated applications made to him by Rebecca Bigby; and above all, he not only omits to mention the letter which the men sent to Mr. Hibbert, and which led to the accomplishment of their object, but takes care so to frame his affidavit, that the public may believe that all which was necessary, and all that was done, was a *single* application to the proprietor through him. Surely Mr. Oates must be without a conscience, as well as a "*serious concern about religion*;" for he demonstrates himself to be capable of giving any colouring to any fact to suit his purpose; and then, that no one may doubt the purity of his motives, or his veracity, he hurries before a magistrate to confirm the whole by swearing to it, on the "*Holy Evangelists of Almighty God*."

From the manner in which Mr. Hibbert speaks of the case, I must believe that his agents in Jamaica, for a series of years, kept him in igno-

## AFFIDAVITS.

## REMARKS.

ment from several other persons; and as Allen is related to free people, I saw no cause for doubting it. I noticed myself, the great alteration which had taken place in his behaviour, and could account for it in no other way than that alleged by Mr. Oates and others, viz. that it arose from disappointed hopes of freedom.\* About the same

rance of the wishes of the above slaves to purchase their freedom; or that they so hedged about the request with difficulties, as to make sure of his rejecting it. I cannot suppose that he would turn a deaf ear to the repeated applications of two or three different agents, and then yield, without hesitation, to the first request made to him by the slaves themselves. Whether I have, or have not, either in "*Negro Slavery*" or in my own tract, misrepresented the matter in hand, I am contented that the reader should determine. In quoting the account here alluded to, in contrast with Mr. M'Kenzie's affidavit, Mr. Hibbert makes me say, that the men had long applied in vain to his "AGENT;" but I used the plural number "*Agents*." It is difficult for me to believe that there was design in this; though Mr. Hibbert gives the word in italics, and, therefore, he must have marked it with care. He might not perceive, that by leaving out the *s*, and thereby restricting the application to one agent, in the room of extending it to several, he gave quite a new meaning to the passage, and that too a meaning which exactly suits his own side of the question. If the men had never attempted to obtain their liberty till Mr. Oates went to be attorney for Mr. Hibbert, it might follow, that they did not apply long in vain; but if, as I have represented the matter, on the best evidence, their wishes were expressed most earnestly and frequently to several agents, who had charge of the estate in succession, each of them holding his office a considerable time, the contrary must be the fact. I hope Mr. Hibbert will, in future, quote my own language, and not put words into my mouth which I never used, in order that he may turn my report to his own account.

\* It may serve, in some measure, to explain the state of this man's mind, to add, that he was in the habit of keeping my horses well shod, on my paying him a dollar a month. This sum was intended merely as an encouragement for him to take pains; for he was always allowed to do

## AFFIDAVIT.

## REMARKS.

1.) That so far from there  
 great difficulty *generally*  
 way of manumission, as  
 in the pamphlet, it was  
 the knowledge of Mr.  
 er, amongst *very many*  
 instances, that there was  
 mily of mulattoes, consist-  
 the mother and five chil-  
 the eldest of whom was  
 y-two years of age, and the  
 rest fourteen years, who  
 at least of the value of  
 hundred pounds currency,  
 ging to a plantation called  
 me, in the neighbourhood  
 eorgia, which family had  
 always allowed to live  
 and were brought up by

time, I was told by Mr. Oates,  
 that two or three brown car-  
 penters on Great Valley estate  
 had applied for their freedom,  
 stating that they could procure  
 the means; the case was con-  
 sidered, and it was resolved to  
 put an enormously high price  
 on their heads, for the purpose  
 of putting the boon beyond their  
 reach. This was Mr. Oates's  
 account.

(20.) The family alluded to  
 by Mr. Oates, is that of Colo-  
 nel Kerr, Colonel of the Hano-  
 ver regiment of Militia. This  
 gentleman was son to the late  
 Mr. Kerr, formerly proprietor of  
 Welcome estate; but the estate  
 being involved when Mr. Kerr  
 died, it became necessary to  
 sell it. Now the Colonel, some  
 years ago, I suspect during the  
 life of his father, took a brown  
 woman belonging to Welcome,  
 to be his mistress, by whom he  
 had the children in question.  
 Mr. Oates swears, that the Co-  
 lonel was allowed to buy his  
 own children, including their  
 mother, for at least £500 less

ork, there not being much of it, in his master's time, and with his  
 r's materials, excepting nails, which I found. Now he always took  
 o please me, and to come for his dollar once a month, till he got  
 ed in his project about freedom; but from this time he became ex-  
 gely negligent, and I often sent the horses to him in vain. If he has  
 ed his former line of orderly behaviour, it is because he sees it is  
 s for him to think about freedom, and not because he prefers slavery  
 dom.

## AFFIDAVITS.

their father, who resided in the neighbourhood of the estate, and that the father was allowed to fix his own price for them, which he did at three hundred pounds, and that, for that sum alone, although any other purchaser would have readily paid eight hundred pounds for them, were they manumized by the proprietor. That he hath confined himself in this affidavit, to answering merely such circumstances as are related in the pamphlet, respecting occurrences and the management of Slaves on Georgia estate, so far as he could speak thereto, particularly of his own knowledge; but so far as his experience and knowledge lead him to judge, he believes almost every circumstance set forth in the pamphlet, as the evidence of Mr. Cooper, as to the general condition and treatment of the Negroes, to be grossly overcharged and wilfully misrepresented.

(Signed) GEO. H. OATES.

Sworn before me this second day of March, 1824.

ALEX. CAMPBELL,\*

Senior Magistrate, Hanover.

## REMARKS.

than they were worth; but I am much inclined to think that if they had been put up to auction, they would not have fetched any thing like a £100 each. The mother was advancing in life, and consequently decreasing in value as a marketable commodity. The children were *quadroons*, (though Mr. Oates takes his oath they were *mulattoes*,) and in general too tenderly brought up for the whip. One of them, rather a clever little girl, was sent to school to Mrs. Cooper, and I will undertake to say, that she was not worth much as a saleable article.—After all, it might have been liberal in the proprietor, Mr. Purrier, to permit Colonel Kerr to purchase for £300, from the estate of their late grandfather, his own children whom he had brought up at his own expense.—Mr. Oates swears that this “was one instance, amongst *very many* others” within my knowledge, of slaves obtaining their liberty; but really I cannot call to mind any other than that of the *brown* men on *Georgia*. The reader must determine on which side the truth lies.

\* This same magistrate assured me that the *Curate* Act was made for *England*, and *not* for *Jamaica*. He has often argued with me against instructing the slaves, so as to increase their knowledge. He has, however, no great objection to the plan of christening by hundreds at a time. T. C.

## APPENDIX II.

**AFFIDAVITS.**

(1.) Alexander M'Kenzie, of Hanover, in the island of Jamaica, planter, being sworn on the holy evangelists of Almighty God, maketh oath, that he was employed as the overseer of Georgia estate, in the parish of Hanover, the property of Robert Hibbert, Esq., about six months prior to the departure from this island of Mr. Cooper, who had been employed by Mr. Hibbert to superintend the religious instruction of his slaves on the estate, and deponent is still the overseer of the estate, under George Hibbert Oates, Esq., the attorney of Mr. Hibbert.

(2.) And on his first going there, he was made fully aware of Mr. Hibbert's wishes and intentions in respect to Mr. Cooper and the objects of his residence on the estate.

(3.) That he very early discovered, that the religious tenets of Mr. Cooper differed ENTIRELY from his own, he having

### REMARKS.

(1.) Admitted.

(2.) I conversed freely with Mr. M'Kenzie on these points, but whether he ever received, from any other quarter, any detailed and specific instructions respecting them, I am very doubtful.

(3.) As a *Unitarian*, I believe in one God the Father; in the divine authority of the Scriptures; in Jesus as the Christ;

## AFFIDAVITS.

been brought up in and professing the *Presbyterian* religion, according to the church of Scotland, and Mr. Cooper being an *Unitarian*,\* disbelieving, and preaching to the Negroes against the divinity of Jesus Christ.

(4.) And, therefore, he was averse at first to attend Mr. Cooper's meetings; but *Mr. Cooper expressing a great desire that he should be present, and stating that his attendance would cause more respect from*

## REMARKS.

in his miracles; in his resurrection; in the necessity of holiness of heart and life; in a future state, in which every one will be rewarded according to the deeds done in the body, &c. &c. Now does Mr. M'Kenzie, as a *Presbyterian*, deny these doctrines? If not, what becomes of his *oath* "that my religious tenets differ *entirely*† from his own"? The assertion that I preached to the Negroes *against* the divinity of Christ, is wholly untrue. *The divinity of his mission*, I constantly preached; and though I did not preach *the deity of his person*, I did not preach against it, but left that matter to be discussed by divines in Europe.

(4.) Mr. M'Kenzie *never* expressed, either directly or indirectly, any such aversion to me; on the contrary, he was much in the habit of complimenting me, through Mrs. Cooper, for my services. His

\* A fact well known to Mr. Hibbert before I went out to Jamaica; yet it has been deemed proper to employ Mr. M'Kenzie to make oath to it. The motive of this, I need not point out.

† Let it not be said that this declaration escaped from Mr. M'Kenzie in the heat of controversy. He is on his *oath*, and his language must be taken according to its literal and obvious meaning. Excuses which might be allowed to an opponent in ordinary circumstances, cannot be admitted for a moment, in the case of an individual who solemnly swears to every statement he makes "on the holy evangelists of Almighty God."

## AFFIDAVITS.

*the Negroes, he did in consequence attend all the meetings, (as well as he remembers,) during the whole time that Mr. C. and himself were on the property together.*

(5.) That in a very short time he discovered that the discourses of Mr. Cooper were not at all either adapted to the comprehension of the Negroes, or in any manner calculated to arrest their attention; and that they were made chiefly in support of his own doctrines of faith,\* and not all to inculcate

## REMARKS.

attendance was perfectly voluntary; and I never expressed any "great desire that he should be" there; though I was glad to see him, thinking that his presence would, on the whole, have a beneficial tendency. Other white persons attended my preaching as well as Mr. M'Kenzie, without, however, objecting in a single instance to my doctrine.

(5.) I always endeavoured to adapt my discourses to the comprehension and circumstances of the Negroes; and when I did not succeed in getting them to understand me, I was sorry. My discourses were *never* in support of my own doctrines of faith, excepting in cases where my faith was identical with that

\* Mr. Hibbert introduces the following note in this place, taken from a small tract, recently published by me, containing my correspondence with his relation, Mr. George Hibbert. "*On no occasion, that I am aware of, did I ever bring into view what might be deemed my peculiar opinions.*" This is the truth, and nothing but the truth.

"Mr. Cooper does not recollect to have seen a single white man in Jamaica, who shewed any serious concern about religion, excepting some missionaries." These words are inserted by Mr. Hibbert immediately opposite to Mr. M'Kenzie's account of his attendance on my meetings. Does Mr. H. deem the alleged *aversion* of his overseer to attend the said meetings, a proof that he was *seriously concerned about religion*? or the "*verified fact*" that he attended *merely* "in consequence of a great desire" to that effect said to be expressed *on my part*? If so, I must support my declaration, by informing the public, that Mr. M'Kenzie was so "*seriously concerned about religion*" all this time, as to keep without any disguise, his brown mistress, and to indulge in gross and common swearing.



## AFFIDAVITS.

and explain the doctrines of the Christian faith, but, on the contrary, rather to unsettle such notions of Christianity as they (the Negroes) had previously imbibed, and therefore he often advised Mr. Cooper to use *only such plain language as they would be capable of comprehending, and such as the rector of the parish was accustomed to use, whenever he came to baptize the children of the estate, his endeavour being always directed to impress, in the simplest terms, the great necessity of bringing up their children to be honoured and respected, to obey their master, and to be content in the situation in which Providence had placed them, assuring them that, by so doing, they would add to their own and their children's happiness, and encourage their master to shew them more and more kindness. That he constantly used such arguments to Mr. Cooper without avail.*

## REMARKS.

of other Christians. "My plan was to read a short portion of scripture, and make such remarks upon it as appeared to me to be calculated to strike the minds and suit the circumstances of my hearers. And they generally listened, with apparent attention, during the whole of the discourse." [See Monthly Repository for May 1822, page 299.] I often took occasion to treat of the resurrection, of the divine authority of the Scriptures, the example of Christ, a future life of righteous retribution, &c. &c. On one occasion, after I had been preaching from the words of our Lord, "*All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them,*" Mr. M'Kenzie did remark to me, that he was fearful the people did not comprehend all that was said; but that he often advised me on points of this nature is not true. From the manner in which the *rector* is introduced in the passage in italics, the reader might almost conclude, that the parish of Hanover was blessed with a second Latimer; whereas the whole account may safely be characterized as a piece of canting misrepresentation.\*

\* The rector was a cheerful, hospitable man, but, as Mr. M'Kenzie well knows, by no means entitled to that patriarchal character given

## AFFIDAVITS.

## REMARKS.

I cannot recollect that a single Negro was baptized on Georgia during the six months I resided there with Mr. M'Kenzie. In the days of his predecessor, I well remember that an elderly Negro man was baptized at the church, and an elderly woman in our house. Both these people were, to my knowledge, totally ignorant of the design of baptism, and regarded the ceremony merely in the light of a charm. After this, on a set day, nearly three hundred of the estate's gang submitted to the same ordinance. This scene also took place in our house; and I must still maintain, that it was nothing more than "a solemn mockery of what the people were exhorted to regard as a Christian rite."

(6.) And the Negroes themselves appeared not at all satisfied with, or edified by his discourses; and so little did he appear to please them, that, out of *three hundred and eighty-four Negroes on the estate, never more than about fifty at a time attended his meetings*, and of that small number, some were asleep, some listlessly going and

(6.) This I can truly say is the first intimation that I ever had of the Negroes being at all dissatisfied with my services, if we except what is said in that atrocious document recently republished by me from the Jamaica Newspapers. The assertion, too, that never more than about fifty slaves at a time attended my preaching is wholly

him above. I have no hesitation in saying that Mr. M'Kenzie has acted a grossly disingenuous and hypocritical part in the kind of reference he has made to this clergyman.

## AFFIDAVITS.

coming, and some talking with each other; and in fact, such meetings appeared to be mere ceremonies, from which the Negroes had neither profit nor satisfaction of any kind; and whatever may have been the case at Mr. Cooper's first going to the estate, they never appeared to attend him with cheerfulness, or to entertain any kind of personal respect for him; but he sincerely believes, that if Mr. Cooper had really sought to acquire their respect and esteem, and had used the plain, mild, and benevolent means adopted by the clergyman who attended at times to baptize the Negroes, they would have been most essentially benefited in every point of view, and the object of Mr.

## REMARKS.

untrue. The congregation never, in a single instance, fell so low as this. I always admitted that a few absented themselves who ought to have been present; but the number was never greater than might have been expected.\* From the style in which Mr. M'Kenzie introduces the "*three hundred and eighty-four*" slaves, whom he represents as constituting the Georgia gang, during our joint residence on that estate, the reader would naturally suppose that the whole had it in their power to attend me. But Mr. Hibbert knows well, that a large allowance ought to be made for invalids, aged persons, and young children; for the watchmen, all of whom were always detained at their posts; and

\* Mr. M'Kenzie often spoke in the highest terms of the manner in which the Negroes conducted themselves during divine service; and repeatedly declared that he never saw more attentive audiences in his native country of Scotland. If any individual absented himself who ought to have been present, it was the duty of Mr. M'Kenzie to notice his conduct, but this, as far I could learn, was never once done, the evil not being of any extent. I, however, now regret the injudicious lenity which was shewn, and especially that I did not myself remonstrate with the overseer upon the subject.

The insinuation that there were more than three hundred absentees, is dishonest and shameful in the highest degree; and I am perfectly astonished that Mr. Hibbert could put it forth without any sort of qualification. He must himself see the absurdity of the supposition that the whole estate's gang could attend my meetings at the same time, or, that more than three hundred of them were allowed to play the truant whenever time was set apart for the purpose of moral and religious improvement.

## AFFIDAVITS.

Hibbert's humane intentions towards them would have been fully answered.

(7.) That though such was the nature of the discourses used by Mr. Cooper at such meetings, yet the conduct of Mr. Cooper at all funeral ceremonies, which deponent invariably attended, was very feeling and satisfactory; and in the performance of his duty on those occasions his discourses were not only delivered in the most becoming manner, but were particularly adapted to the feelings and understandings of the Negroes present.\*

(8.) That he was acquainted with Mr. Cooper on his arrival in the island, having been intro-

## REMARKS.

many other individuals who were employed, as I was invariably told, about the *necessary* work of the estate. I have occasionally seen two or three asleep in the congregation, but this evil certainly was not more extensive than it is often found to be in afternoon congregations in this country. What is said about their talking, and "listlessly going and coming," &c. is altogether untrue.

(7.) If this be true, can the representations of my want of judgment and seriousness, on all other occasions when I appeared before the Negroes, in my professional character, be true also? The contrast is remarkable. I can lay my hand on my heart and declare, that I was as anxious to do my duty when I met the Negroes to preach to them, as I was when I attended their funerals.

(8.) During Mr. M'Kenzie's residence at Tryall estate, I made him two casual calls, on

\* The Jamaica Royal Gazette of July 1823, in an attack on me, represents the Negroes as saying, "What sort of a parson is this our master has sent us out? He does not tell us what the other parsons have done, and he can neither christen nor bury us."

## AFFIDAVITS.

duced to him at Tryall estate, where deponent then resided, and where he shewed Mr. Cooper every kindness and hospitality in his power; and from that period a considerable degree of intimacy took place between them; and in like manner, Mr. Cooper was treated with great kindness and attention by all the neighbours, with most of whom he was on terms of intimacy.

(9.) *That never once did Mr. Cooper intimate, or hint to him, or to any other individual, (as far as he can ascertain, or believes,) his disgust at, or disapprobation of, the customs or habits of the inhabitants of the island, either with reference to the state of morals and religion of the whites or blacks, or to the treatment, condition, or situation, of the slaves; but so*

## REMARKS.

both which occasions he treated me with kindness and attention, for which I thanked him at the time: The neighbours also shewed me much kindness, which I always acknowledged, and endeavoured to return. But I never supposed till now that they expected me, as a return for their hospitality, to praise the slave system, or to conceal what I saw of its enormities. They ought to be satisfied when they see that I blame the system rather than individuals, excepting when they come forward determined to oppose, at any rate, not only the natural rights of man, but common justice and humanity.

(9.) This is deliberately and utterly false.\* I have often expressed to Mr. M'Kenzie my horror at the manner in which both *whites* and *blacks* live in Jamaica. He will remember my conversing with him respecting the custom of visitors who stay all night on an estate requesting the domestic who attends them to bring them a girl to be their instrument of

\* The manner in which our female servants were seduced by the *white* men on the estate, he has often heard us both lament. See Mrs. Cooper's letter, p. 21.

## AFFIDAVITS.

much did he always express himself and appear to feel; to the contrary of what is now asserted by him, or stated to be so, in a certain pamphlet, entitled, "*Negro Slavery, or, a View of some of the more prominent Features of that State of Society, as it exists in the United States of America, and in the Colonies of the West Indies, especially in Jamaica,*" that he hath frequently heard both Mr. Cooper and his wife declare, and indeed it was a constant theme or subject of discourse of both, that the Negroes in Jamaica were a most happy peasantry, and in circumstances greatly preferable to those of the poor labouring classes in England; and he hath frequently heard them both, on comparing the condition of the Negroes with such classes in England, observe how bountifully the Negroes were supplied, not only with the necessities and conveniences, but even with many of the luxuries of life, and lament, at the same time, the miserable lot of many of their own countrymen; and

## REMARKS.

pleasure; and that he assured me that this was an extremely common thing.\* He added, indeed, that Tryall was an exception, at least while he was overseer on that estate; in confirmation of which he related the following anecdote.—A certain individual, known to us both, one night had occasion to take up his lodgings at Tryall. When he got into his room, he called the boy to bring him a girl; the boy refused, on the ground that the overseer would not suffer it; the gentleman did not quite understand this, and, therefore, he took out his purse to offer a reward. The boy still refused, and a part of the money fell upon the floor. During the whole time, Mr. M'Kenzie was within hearing, and approved of the boy's conduct.

The report which I have given in this country respecting the treatment and situation of the slaves in Jamaica, is nothing more than a repetition of what I often avowed to Mr. M'Kenzie, Mr. Oates, Mr. Skirving, and others. I never

\* Mr. Oates and Mr. Skirving both confirmed to me the practice of thus sending for girls; and the latter even added, that, when attorneys visit estates, they are known to employ the midwife to procure them some girl, or girls, whom she supposes to be pure.

## AFFIDAVITS.

at the last dinner given by Mr. Cooper, just before he left the island, he gave a farewell toast, in these words, as well as deponent can recollect them :—  
 "Prosperity to the island and all its inhabitants; to the parish of Hanover in particular. O how happy are all descriptions of people here!"

(10.) That there were many circumstances in the general conduct both of Mr. Cooper and his wife, not at all calculated to inspire the Negroes with respect or good-will towards them personally; one of which occurred about eight or

## REMARKS.

ascribed, either in that country or this, the evil to the mere tyranny of the planters, but mainly to the system which they have the *misfortune* to administer.

Neither Mrs. Cooper nor I ever entertained the idea that the Negroes are as well off as the peasantry of this country. On the contrary, we often argued against the insulting notion when advanced by others. Mr. M'Kenzie and a few other individuals occasionally dined with me; and it is possible, though I have no recollection of it, that I might give a farewell toast before I left the country. But the clause in that produced by Mr. M'Kenzie, "*O how happy are all descriptions of people here!*" is a complete fabrication. I never did, or could, reckon the Jamaica people a happy people, when I saw them sunk in so much vice, ignorance, and tyranny.

(10.) I decline giving any reply to general charges and base insinuations. I desire no favour from Mr. M'Kenzie, or any of his fellow-labourers. If they will tell the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, I shall have no occa-

## AFFIDAVITS.

ten days after deponent took charge of the estate, as overseer.

(11.) A young girl belonging to the estate, named Sarah Brissett, who was in the eighth month of her pregnancy,\* and had been employed as one of the domestics of Mr. Cooper, was sent by him or Mrs. Cooper, to deponent, as overseer, to be punished, and sent to work in the field; the fault she was charged with, being, that she would not go down on her knees, and scour the house; and on the girl coming to deponent, she was crying most bitterly, saying, she would do any needle-work, or any other light work, but she could not scour the house, nor work in the field, but that Mrs. Cooper said she was able to kneel down and scour the house, and that poor women in England were obliged to work hard till their delivery; but as in the course of seventeen years' experience as a planter deponent had never once seen a person in her condition either working in the field, or doing any drudgery about a house, he ordered the girl to go home to her own

## REMARKS.

sion to reply to their productions.

(11.) See this case fully examined and replied to in Mrs. Cooper's letter to Mr. Hibbert.

\* See Mrs. Cooper's letter, p. 19.



## AFFIDAVITS.

house, and make herself as comfortable as she could; at which conduct on his part Mrs. Cooper took great offence, and complained of his being too indulgent.

(12.) That he sought and availed himself of all opportunities of rendering the situation of Mr. and Mrs. Cooper as comfortable as he could, and of shewing them all the attention and civility in his power, and with that view he was very frequently at their residence, where many domestics were allowed to them; and he could not help observing, that instead of a kind, conciliating manner towards them, Mr. and Mrs. Cooper were always dissatisfied, and complaining that they were behaving ill; nor was there any kind of forbearance in the manner of either Mr. or Mrs. Cooper towards the people, but, on the contrary, the Negroes were all averse to their service, and anxious to quit it, greatly preferring any other work they could be put to on the estate; and at their own desire deponent did change some; but the same conduct was pursued towards any others who were sent, and they again, and Mr. and Mrs. Cooper, were

## REMARKS.

(12.) A tissue of deliberate falsehoods and gross misrepresentations.

## AFFIDAVITS.

mutually dissatisfied with each other; all of which could only be attributable to the causes before-mentioned, and to the fact of Mr. Cooper having omitted or neglected altogether to take any pains to give them such instructions as were requisite to fit them for becoming useful and respectable domestics; and the impression left on the mind of the deponent, from the general conduct of both Mr. and Mrs. Cooper, was, that he was a very peevish man, and she an overbearing woman, towards all that they thought their inferiors, and that they were very far from being humanely or kindly disposed towards the Negroes.

(13.) That the example set by both Mr. and Mrs. Cooper was, at times, little calculated to produce in the minds of the Negroes any additional reverence for the sabbath-day, deponent having known Mr. Cooper frequently ride into the mountains on Sunday mornings for the purpose of collecting some school-debts due to him. That the above-mentioned pamphlet, so far as it relates to the evidence of Mr. Cooper, contains very many assertions which Mr. Cooper himself must

## REMARKS.

(13.) This is also a gross and wilful misrepresentation. As far as my own recollection serves, I can most truly affirm, that I never, in a single instance, went into the mountains on a Sunday morning for the purpose stated and sworn to by my opponent. He knows that what he says, on this subject, amounts to a direct falsehood.

I have frequently examined my evidence, as contained in the pamphlet alluded to by Mr. M'Kenzie, with a view to as-

## AFFIDAVITS.

know to be either false, or misrepresentations, on his part; for instead of the night labour of each Negro during crop-time, on Georgia estate, being equal to three nights in the week, it is only equal to eighteen hours, each Negro keeping spell only six hours each alternate night; and instead of the persons employed in carrying canes to the mill having no regular time of rest either night or day, it only occurs that they have to carry canes for a short time after dusk, when the cane piece which the Negroes are cutting happens to be at an unusual distance from the works; and it is by no means a matter of difficulty to accumulate by sun-down, at the works, sufficient canes to last until the next morning; and there are no grounds whatever for asserting that they seldom get a whole night's rest at one time, or for insinuating that the carrying of canes is at all a matter of hardship, or of severe labour; and, in fact, crop-time to all the Negroes is a most joyous period.

(14.) That if the Negroes had been edified or pleased with the instructions of Mr. Cooper, and he attempted to

## REMARKS.

certain whether it contains any thing which, through inadvertence, gives a false colouring to any fact, or part of the slave system, but have never been able to find that it does. And I am perfectly sure, that it contains no material, and most certainly no intentional error.

For an answer to the remainder of Mr. M'Kenzie's paragraph, see page 35. Mr. M'Kenzie, it ought to be borne in mind, had resided only for six months on the estate when I left it.

(14.) That it was my most earnest desire to have the Negroes attend me on a Sunday for religious instruction; I have

## AFFIDAVITS.

instruct them in crop-time, on the Sunday, he would not have found the slightest obstacle or difficulty, arising from their having to dig their provisions, or to dispose of them at their markets; nor would he have found it "incompatible with the order and management of the plantation;" but, in fact, Mr. Cooper neither held meetings, nor gave any instruction on Sundays, in or out of crop; (Thursday afternoons being particularly appropriated to that purpose;) but, on the contrary, he was usually to be met with at Lucea Bay, or somewhere in the neighbourhood, taking his pleasure on those days; and it is a notorious fact throughout the island, that where Christian ministers have been zealously engaged in the conversion and instruction of the Negroes, their exertions have been attended with great success; and such Negroes have had generally quite as little time to themselves, and perhaps less, for religious instruction, than the Negroes on Georgia estate.

## REMARKS.

fully stated and explained, pp. 48, 49, in contrast with Mr. O.'s false swearing on the subject. It is unnecessary for me to enlarge here; yet I cannot help telling Mr. Hibbert, that his overseer has in this place, as in almost every other, sworn to what he knows to be false, to serve the interests of slavery. It is admitted by Mr. Oates, and even by Mr. M'Kenzie, that the slaves have to dig their week's provisions on a Sunday. Now if we take Mr. Oates's representation, that the grounds are only *two miles* distant from the Negro village, it will follow that the poor beings have at least *four miles* to walk on a Sunday, and to take out of the earth and carry home on their heads, a sufficient quantity of provisions for a week's subsistence; all which may be done without creating the slightest difficulty or obstacle to the religious duties of the day, according to the oath of Mr. M'Kenzie. If an English labourer had similar exertions to go through on a Sunday, he would deem them obstacles to the religious observance of the day. As the Negro has no day, in crop, but Sunday for his own use, it should never be forgotten, that, besides going to his

## AFFIDAVITS.

## REMARKS.

provision garden, he has a number of different things to do in and about his house, if he wishes to live in any comfort, or to keep himself and his hut in any tolerable trim.

What is said about my taking pleasure on a Sunday, I can assure the reader, is nothing more than so much falsehood and calumny. Mrs. Cooper and I occasionally took a ride on a Sunday-evening for the sake of exercise, but I do not believe that I was ever four times at Lucea in my life on a Sunday, excepting it was to attend church.

The statement with respect to the facility with which I might have preached to the Negroes on Sundays, carries falsehood on the face of it, as has been already remarked above, p. 48. How can Mr. Oates and Mr. M'Kenzie exculpate themselves for having appropriated, with much manifest inconvenience and loss of labour, Thursday to instruction, if the more proper and natural course of instructing the slaves on Sundays, could have been followed compatibly with the order and management of the plantation?

(15.) That the Negroes on

(15.) It is possible they

## AFFIDAVITS.

Georgia, during Mr. Cooper's residence there, had from twenty-eight to thirty week days in the year, besides Thursday afternoons, and such week days were even more than amply sufficient for the purpose of cultivating and attending to their grounds, without the slightest encroachment on the Sunday out of crop; and the season when such days were allowed to them, is the proper season for planting all their provisions, and not during the crop-time; so that in fact, in crop they have scarcely any thing more to do than to dig up or cut their week's provisions on the Sunday.

## REMARKS.

might have had twenty-eight days allowed them, but certainly never more while I was on the estate. I should be surprised to find Mr. M'Kenzie and Mr. Oates mentioning thirty days, did I not now see that they are capable of any exaggeration or misrepresentation to serve their purpose. During a part of the time out of crop, the Negroes have only *one* day in a fortnight for their own purposes—which day we are to believe, is sufficient for the cultivation of their provision grounds, carrying home provisions, and doing every thing else which their own comfort or that of their families may require, "*without the slightest encroachment on the Sunday*"! A minute's reflection is quite enough here. But a still more complete reply to these false representations will be found at p. 49.\*

\* Twenty-six days for the whole year, which is the number allowed by the law, averages to each Negro half a day for each of the fifty-two weeks that compose the year. And here we have oath upon oath, for Mr. Oates and Mr. M'Kenzie both in effect swear to it, that this half-day in the week is "amply sufficient" for the cultivation of the Negro's provision grounds, from which he and his children derive their support, with the exception of a few herrings, "without any encroachment on the Sunday:" and Mr. Oates swears also, "that it is *entirely* optional with the Negro how he will spend the Sunday;" thus making his half-day in the week completely competent to every purpose—of washing and mending his clothes, cleaning his hut, attending the market, and taking care

## AFFIDAVITS.

(16.) That it certainly would have been unjust to the Negroes, if any part of the Sundays had been authoritatively taken from them, with a view to enforce their attendance on Mr.

## REMARKS.

(16.) I repeat that I was always willing and ready to pay every attention to the religious interests of the Negroes on a Sunday, and that I did all in my power to get them to attend

of the "*large supplies of hogs, goats, and poultry*," which Mr. Oates makes oath are the property of the slave. For let it be remembered, that during the five days and a half in the week in which the man is toiling for the master, the wife and children are not at home, engaged in their own domestic affairs, as is frequently the case in this country: every one capable of useful exertion is abroad, performing the labour of the estate. Now, if it be true that this one half-day in the week is thus important to the slave, of what immense value must be those other eleven half-days which are taken from him and appropriated to his owner! And how extensive the robbery committed by the latter on the unfortunate victim of servitude! For if one half-day be thus adequate to the effecting of every thing essential to the support and comfort of one individual, who does not perceive that the return from his labour during the other eleven half-days in the week, must be equal to all the wants of eleven other individuals, and that the produce of his exertions must be sufficient for the subsistence of twelve persons, namely, himself and eleven others? And thus allow that, out of the 384 slaves resident on Georgia, even 200 are capable of labour, and we shall find that the returns from their exertions must be equal to the support of 2400 people, including themselves; and this, too, without reckoning their night work, which, as sworn to by Mr. Hibbert's agents, is equal to 30 days, or 60 half-days more; and the produce from the labour of 200 people for these 30 days, or 60 half-days, must, according to the statements on oath, be equal to the subsistence and comfort of about 240 persons, which, added to the above 2400, amount to 2640; and thus the estate of Georgia, if there be any truth in the oaths of Mr. Hibbert's agents, would make from the labour of the slaves upon it, a yearly return of produce equal to the subsistence of 2640 persons, including themselves. And yet, with this immense profit from the sinews of their slaves, do the West Indians still go to Parliament and petition for relief from their distresses! Surely, in the next Session, the Agent of Jamaica will come forward with the oath of his relative, and with those of his co-swearers, and disembarass the Government by shewing, *on these oaths*, the fallacy of the allegations, and the extravagance of the requests of the West Indians!

## AFFIDAVITS.

Cooper; *but, in fact there existed no really good reason for Mr. Cooper neglecting or omitting, as he did, to give them an opportunity of receiving instruction on the Sundays, if they were inclined to receive it; and if he had inspired them with any desire to hear him, he would not have had since to make so unjust and unfounded an excuse as is now made by him in this respect.*

(17.) That so far from its being true, as insinuated in the pamphlet, that Mr. Cooper quitted Jamaica, because he could not consent to consume his time among a people to whom he could only preach twelve times a year, he in fact was desirous of staying in the island, and so expressed himself to deponent, he being well contented with his comfortable situation at the estate; but, as he stated himself, he was determined to quit the country in

## REMARKS.

me on that day. The charge brought against me, on this head, by Mr. M'Kenzie, is utterly and completely false. If it be true that the Negroes had more than ample time to attend to their own affairs in the week, as Mr. M'Kenzie wishes the world to believe, where would have been the injustice of at least strongly recommending it to them to attend me on a Sunday? This, however, was never done by a single *white* person on the estate; but on the contrary, they all represented to me, and I believe very justly, that it would have been cruel to do any such thing, it being absolutely necessary for the slaves to go and attend to their grounds.

(17.) The motives which induced me to leave Jamaica, sprang from the conviction that my continuance there would lead to no beneficial results to the Negroes. Had Mr. Hibbert consented to their being taught to read, in spite of slavery, and to proper time being allowed them for religious worship and instruction, both *in and out of crop*, I should most likely have been on his estate to this day.

The only letter which had



## AFFIDAVITS.

consequence of some letter which he had received from England.

(18.) That under the head of "General Treatment," in the pamphlet, when treating of the evidence of Mr. Cooper, it is alleged, that a driver on an estate has the power of prostrating the Negroes, and inflicting such a number of lashes as he may deem their fault to have merited; but as far as deponent's own knowledge and experience extend, such assertion is false and unfounded, and such a practice would not be tolerated in the island; and the account given by Mr. Cooper of punishments in general is a gross misrepresentation; and if the several instances of cruelty and harsh treatment towards the Negroes, on Georgia estate, mentioned in the evidence of Mr. Cooper, ever did occur, they must have taken place before this deponent was the overseer, and are unknown to him; and he verily believes, that such treatment would not be tolerated on any estate in the island.

## REMARKS.

any influence in inducing me to return to this country, was that of Mr. Hibbert's, dated East-Hide, Nov. 1st, 1820, which will be found p. 28.

(18.) My report adds, that the number of lashes which the driver may legally inflict, is ten, but I verily believe that he often goes further than this. He does not always prostrate the offender, being guided by the nature of the crime or his caprice, but he certainly does so when he thinks he sees cause. The gangs under the command of Mr. M'Kenzie always work before the whip, which the driver, in point of fact, uses at his own discretion. Of this I have very often had ocular demonstration. The question is not so much about the *posture* in which the Negroes are placed; when they are flogged, as the fact of their being subjected to the punishment of the cart-whip, and urged on to the performance of their task by that humane and rational instrument. Now, whatever *oaths* Mr. M'Kenzie may take, or however he and his companions may carp at an expression, I re-assert, in the most deliberate manner, that during the whole of my residence on Georgia estate, the slaves were

## AFFIDAVITS.

(19.) That it is stated in the pamphlet, upon the evidence of Mr. Cooper, that after three slaves on the Georgia estate had obtained their freedom by purchase from the proprietor, a fourth made many efforts to obtain his freedom by purchase, but they proved unavailing, and he sunk in consequence into a state of despondency, and became of comparatively little value; which statement is utterly false, and Mr. Cooper in asserting the same, knew it to be so; for deponent saith, that some time after he went to live as overseer at Georgia, the mother of Sandy Allen (the Negro alluded to as having failed to obtain his freedom) died, and deponent and Mr. Cooper attended at her funeral, the meeting preparatory to the ce-

## REMARKS.

as completely stimulated at their labour by the whip, as any team of horses, with perhaps one or two exceptions, that ever I saw in a stage-coach.

Every case of punishment mentioned in my evidence, in the tract called *Negro Slavery*, did, to my certain knowledge, take place in the manner there described; and I most firmly believe that such things happen on sugar estates very frequently, if not every day.

(19.) What I have to say respecting the wish of Sandy Allen to obtain his freedom, will be found in my reply to what Mr. Oates has advanced on this subject. But I must here remark, that if Mr. M'Kenzie put the question to Allen fairly, candidly, and without any art; "*if he wished or would like to be free,*" I do not believe him on his oath, that Allen answered in the manner related in the opposite column.

I have not the slightest recollection of burying Sandy Allen's mother, or of attending her funeral; indeed, I feel persuaded she was alive when I left the estate. The funeral to which Mr. M'Kenzie alludes, was that of a *brown* man, by the name of Davy, some time ~~hot-house~~ doctor on Georgia

## AFFIDAVITS.

remony being held at Sandy Allen's house, where they met several well-dressed Negroes of the estate, and found a table laid for the funeral dinner, with a neat clean cloth, for upwards of a dozen persons, and there Mr. Cooper and deponent partook of an excellent glass of wine, presented to them by Sandy Allen himself, who at the same time that he was particularly correct in his own conduct on the occasion, was known to Mr. Cooper as a most valuable tradesman and a contented, well-conducted, and respected servant; and respected not merely on the estate, but by all the gentlemen in the neighbourhood. That knowing that Sandy Allen had formerly expressed a desire to obtain his freedom, but seeing him contented and in happy circumstances on the estate, deponent once took occasion to ask him if he wished or would like to be free; when he answered this deponent, "No, no, I am perfectly contented in my situation."

ALEXANDER M'KENZIE.

Sworn before me, this 2nd day of March, 1824,

ALEX. CAMPBELL,

Senior Magistrate.

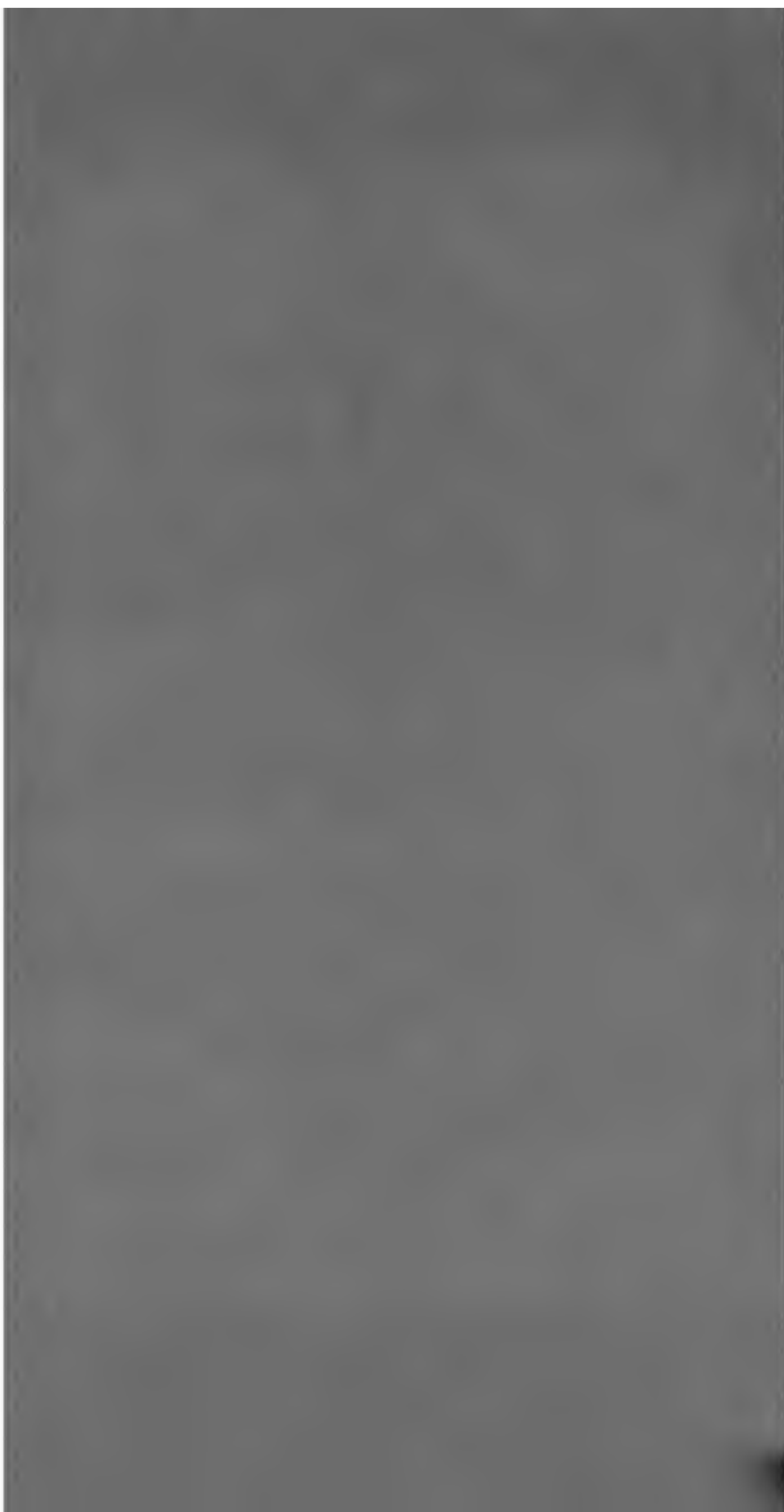
## REMARKS.

estate. This mistake would be of no great consequence, were it not that Mr. M'Kenzie is on his *oath*, and must, whenever he departs from the literal truth of any thing he advances, be considered as having perjured himself. The funeral of Davy was certainly managed, on the part of the slaves, with great decency and propriety. I was much struck with the scene, having never witnessed any thing of the kind before on the estate, though I had often been called to bury the dead.—Mr. M'Kenzie and his fellow-labourers would be glad to have the public believe, that the funeral in question may be regarded as a fair specimen of Negro funerals in general, and as also affording a proof of the comforts and luxuries possessed by the great mass of the slaves. Let no one, however, be so deceived; the case of Davy must be regarded as an exception to the general rule.

T. C.













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